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THE COLLEGE OF ST. LEONARD

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THE  
COLLEGE OF ST. LEONARD

*Being Documents with Translations, Notes  
and Historical Introductions*

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THIS volume has been prepared at the request of, and is published by, the University Court. Part II., containing all the important existing documents relative to the foundation and early history of St. Leonards, is the work of my Colleague, Mr. R. K. Hannay, who has edited and translated the various MSS. To him I am indebted for some of the notes in the Appendix, to Mr. J. Maitland Anderson for the use of the transcript of the minutes of the Faculty of Arts, and to Dr. Hay Fleming for valuable suggestions.

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THE UNIVERSITY, ST. ANDREWS.

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PART I



## THE COLLEGE OF ST. LEONARD.

ONE of the latest of the biographers of St. Leonard asserts that every Catholic country in Europe possesses churches dedicated in the name of the saint. A study of the work of that biographer,<sup>1</sup> which may be followed as representing local French tradition, shows that while a rich legend has grown round the name of Leonard, there is scarcely one single fact of his life that can be authenticated.

Leonard was born in Gaul, of illustrious parents, at the close of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century ; and the village of Corroy near Orleans is named as his birthplace. He was baptised by Remigius, the Apostle of the Franks, and was carried from the font by Clovis, the king who at his conversion from paganism was told "to honour that which he had burned, and to burn that which he had honoured". Leonard, when he had passed from childhood, refused to take arms for his country, choosing rather enrolment among the soldiers of the King of heaven. He accordingly joined himself to Remigius, who in due time made him a cleric by bestowing the tonsure. Remigius is said to have

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<sup>1</sup> *Vie de Saint Léonard*, par L'Abbé Arbellot. In the *Breviarium Aberdonense*, in the lessons for St. Leonard's Day, are biographical details taken from ancient *Lives* of the saint, which may be found in part v. of the above work (*cf.* Appendix I.).



obtained the royal authority to release prisoners; and in the same way Leonard was commissioned to announce liberty to captives at his pleasure. Thus, early in his career, his name became associated with prisoners.

Leaving Remigius, Leonard proceeded to the monastery of Micy, a school for saints, presided over by Maximin, who took him to Eusebius, the Bishop of Orleans. The bishop ordained him to the diaconate, the only clerical office which in his humility he ever consented to fill. At Micy his brother Lifard, a future saint, was with him. Leonard desired him to accompany him, when it was revealed that he should leave Micy and proceed to Aquitaine. But Lifard answered that duty required him to found a monastery on the bank of the Loire; and kissing each other they separated, never to be reunited. Passing through Bourges, where were many pagans, and preaching without fear, Leonard reached the mountains of Limousin. In the forest of Pauvain, ten miles from Limoges, he erected a cell, where he fixed his dwelling, feeding himself with roots and wild fruits.

Limousin was at that period a possession of the Crown of Austrasia. Theodebert, the king, was on one occasion in the forest of Pauvain, when Leonard, learning by heavenly means that the queen, who was with her husband, was ill, visited her and prayed for her recovery.<sup>1</sup> By his prayers she was restored; and for

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<sup>1</sup>“ During this period of his life he is said to have obtained by his prayers a safe delivery for the wife of Clovis, . . . and this is perhaps the reason why he is made a patron of hospitals. He was the patron of the Culdee hospitals both at St. Andrews and at York” (*The Arms of the Royal and Parliamentary Burghs of Scotland*, by John Marquess of Bute, p. 216).

the mercy thus obtained gold and silver with fine raiment were set before him, but refused. The forest itself was then offered in gift; and a part, so much as he could perambulate in a night's march, was accepted. In this small territory he erected an oratory to the Virgin; and for its service associated two pious men. During his later years in the forest, which he renamed Noblac, multitudes, and among these lepers,<sup>1</sup> sought his prayers for their healing; and prisoners everywhere, invoking his name, obtained their liberty.<sup>2</sup>

Leonard died, as some have fixed the date, on 6th November, 559; and was buried in the oratory he had erected to the Virgin. In the ninth century, in the days of Lewis the Pious, a church was built for the relics; and in later periods translations of these relics were carried out. Wherever his bones and his dust lay wonders were done. Pilgrims flocked to his shrine, and among these were many Englishmen. It is recorded that Richard I. of England, released from the prison of the Emperor Henry VI., visited Limousin that he might render thanks to the name of St. Leonard, to whom he ascribed his freedom. Before the time of Richard there were Leonardine churches

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<sup>1</sup> St. Leonard's name was associated with leper hospitals in Aylesbury, Chesterfield, Kirkby, Lancaster, Leicester, Lowcrosse, Northampton, Peterborough, Towcester (*cf. Archaeol. Essays*, vol. ii., by Sir J. Y. Simpson).

<sup>2</sup> "St. Leonard is invoked by all those who languish in captivity, whether they be prisoners or slaves; it was also a custom for those who had been delivered from captivity to hang up their fetters in the churches or chapels dedicated to him; hence he is usually represented with fetters in his hand, which is his usual attribute" (Mrs. Jameson's *The Poetry of Sacred and Legendary Art*, ii., 397-98).

in England, but it is not unlikely that the story of his release heightened the popularity of the patron of prisoners.<sup>1</sup>

As the date and circumstance of the introduction of St. Leonard's name into Scotland are unknown, it would be mere conjecture to say that it came direct from France, brought by returning pilgrims, or to affirm that the cult of the saint spread from England to Scotland. From the Exchequer Rolls and the Register of the Great Seal it may be seen that there were hospitals of St. Leonard at Lanark,<sup>2</sup> Perth, Peebles, Kinghorn,<sup>3</sup> Dalhousie, Edinburgh;<sup>4</sup> chapels at Ayr, Forres, Dairsie; and a nunnery at Perth.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "There is little doubt that St. Leonard was introduced into England by the Normans. Bromley St. Leonards, founded soon after the Conquest, . . . marks the beginning of a period in which the French saint was destined to become increasingly popular. The choice of the name was most likely due to the Benedictine monks for whose benefit the church was founded, and who . . . considered St. Leonard as belonging to their Order" (Frances Arnold-Foster's *Studies in Church Dedications*, ii., 113).

"We find churches dedicated to St. Leonard in thirty-three out of the forty English counties" (*ibid.*, ii., 112).

<sup>2</sup>The kirk of St. Leonard was joined to the kirk of Lanark (*cf. Acts of Scot. Parl.*, 1609).

<sup>3</sup>Leonard was the patron saint of Kinghorn, as the ancient seal indicated (*cf. Lewis' Topograph. Dict.*, and Lord Bute's *Arms of the Roy. and Parl. Burghs*).

<sup>4</sup>The hospital was in use as early as the period 1226-67 (*cf. Registr. de Dunferml.*, p. 137; *Liber Cartar. Sanct. Crucis*, p. 234; *Proceed. of Soc. of Antiq. of Scotl.*, 1893-94, p. 254). St. Leonard's name was associated with certain lands in Leith—"infra terras sancti leonardi de leith" (*Liber de Melros*, ii., 604). James V., in a dedication to the Church of St. Giles in Edinburgh, honoured among others, Columba, Leonard, and Cuthbert (*Charters of St. Giles*, p. 224).

<sup>5</sup> See also *Registr. Nigr. de Aberbroth.*, p. 7.



In addition to these Leonardine foundations there were a nunnery at Halyston near Berwick,<sup>1</sup> chapels at Lasswade,<sup>2</sup> Lauder,<sup>3</sup> Dundee,<sup>4</sup> Fynnevin (Finavon),<sup>5</sup> and hospitals at Dunfermline,<sup>6</sup> Ednam,<sup>7</sup> Horndene,<sup>8</sup> Torrens,<sup>9</sup> Upsetlington,<sup>10</sup> Donislee.<sup>11</sup>

The oldest of the Leonardine churches in Scotland, of which we have a definite date, is that of Perth. It was named "ecclesia sancti Leonardi de Perth" in a Charter of Confirmation granted by Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews (1127-58).<sup>12</sup> There is further proof that St. Leonard's name was known in Scotland in the middle of the twelfth century. In the *Chronicon Sanctæ Crucis*,<sup>13</sup> under the year 1153, there is mention of St. Leonard's Day: "Stephanus rex Angliæ cum Henrico nobilissimo comite Andegauiæ pacem et fidem perpetuam in die festo Sancti Leonardi abbatis iniit". In reference to these words it may be noted that Leonard was sometimes styled abbot, sometimes con-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Walcott's *Anc. Ch. of Scotl.*, p. 379.

<sup>2</sup> Mentioned in G. Forrest's *An Account of the Hist. and Antiq. of St. Leonard's, Edinburgh*.

<sup>3</sup> *Liber de Dryburgh*, pp. 267, 325.

<sup>4</sup> *Reg. Episc. Brechinens.*, ii., 21. <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 361.

<sup>6</sup> The hospital is mentioned, but not by name, in the *Reg. de Dunferml.* It was known, however, as St. Leonards (cf. Chalmers's *Hist. of Dunferml.*, i., 452; *Minutes of Synod of Fife* (Abbots' Club), the year 1651; *The Laing Charters*, p. 420.)

<sup>7</sup> *Liber de Dryb.*, p. 113. <sup>8</sup> Chalmers, *Caled.*, ii., 349.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, iii., 497. <sup>10</sup> *Liber de Calchou*, p. 195.

<sup>11</sup> Chalmers, *Caled.*, iii., 497.

<sup>12</sup> *Reg. de Dunferml.*, p. 55 (cf. pp. 57, 63, 66, 81, 156, 418). It was also styled "domus sancti Leonardi prope Perth" (cf. *Reg. de Aberbroth.*, p. 225).

<sup>13</sup> P. 31. St. Leonard's Day is also used as a date in a document of the year 1250 (cf. Sibbald's *Hist. of Fife*, part ii., chap. v.).

fessor,<sup>1</sup> and sometimes, as in the *Missale Sarum*, both descriptions were used.

There is another writing of the twelfth century which mentions the name of the saint, and records a grant made by a Scotsman to a Leonardine house in England: "Huctred, son of Fergus, signifies to his Lord and Father Christian, Bishop of the Galwalenses, that he has granted to God and St. Leonard and the brothers of the Hospital of St. Peter of York, a carucate and toft in Crevequer in frankalmoigne for the souls of David, King of Scots, Fergus his father, his mother, and all his ancestors".<sup>2</sup> The exact date of this charter cannot be determined, but Christian was bishop from 1154 till 1186,<sup>3</sup> and Huctred himself died in 1174.

In the Register of the Priory of St. Andrews the first reference to a Leonardine House is that to the Chapel at Retrevyn, to be identified with Tartraven in West Lothian.<sup>4</sup> That chapel was styled, in 1246, simply the Chapel of Retrevyn, as a charter of Bishop David (de Bernham) shows;<sup>5</sup> while in the days of Bishop Gameline (1255-71) it bore the name of St. Leonard.<sup>6</sup>

There is no document showing the years in which the Hospital and Church of St. Leonard in St. Andrews were either founded or named; but we are not altogether ignorant of the early history of these institutions. The first mention of the hospital as St. Leonards is made in

<sup>1</sup> In the *Kalendarium de Hyrdmanistoun* and in *Adam King's Kalendar* he is styled confessor; but he is called abbot in the *Kal. de Nova Ferrina* and in the *Kal. de Arbuthnott* (cf. Forbes' *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*).

<sup>2</sup> Bain's *Calend. of Docum. relating to Scotl.*, ii., 422.

<sup>3</sup> Keith's *Catal. of Scot. Bishops*. <sup>4</sup> P. 376.

<sup>5</sup> *Reg. Prior. S. Andr.*, p. 169. <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 376.

a bull of Pope Innocent IV., dated 1248. Among the possessions ratified to the prior and brothers of the Cathedral Church of St. Andrews are: "Hospitale Sancti Leonardi et grangiam de Kellakin ab eodem hospitali dependentem".<sup>1</sup> The "Hospitale sancti leonardi" is named also in an undated charter by Adam, son of Odo. A piece of ground, the subject of the charter, is thus described: "Quae scilicet jacet inter viam quae ducit a vico australi ad aquam fluentem ad abbaciam ex una parte et hospitale sancti leonardi ex altera."<sup>2</sup> Among the witnesses to the writing was David, Bishop of St Andrews (consecrated 1233, died 1253).<sup>3</sup> Adam himself witnessed an agreement between the Prior of St. Andrews and the Culdees,<sup>4</sup> which, according to Dr. Reeves, was signed in 1199.<sup>5</sup> The charter of Adam gives no date applicable to the hospital, but it could have been signed as early as 1233, the first year of the episcopate of David de Bernham.

It is to be observed that a bull of Innocent IV., 1246, made mention of the Hospital of St. Andrew; while another bull of the same pope, 1248, named it St Leonards.<sup>6</sup> It is possible that to David de Bernham

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<sup>1</sup> *Reg. Prior S. Andr.*, p. 103.      <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 281.

<sup>3</sup> Keith's *Scottish Bishops*.

<sup>4</sup> *Reg. Prior. S. Andr.*, pp. 318-19.

<sup>5</sup> *Culdees of the British Isles*, p. 112.

<sup>6</sup> There are two papal bulls of the same date. In one the hospital is styled St. Andrews, and in the other St. Leonards. The hospital, thus differently designated, was one and the same institution; since the lands of Kenly, ascribed in the bull to St. Leonards, were given by David I. to the Hospital of St. Andrew (*vide Reg. Prior. S. Andr.*, p. xxii.). Probably the name of St. Andrew associated with the hospital did not imply a dedication, but simply a designation of it as situated in St. Andrews.



was due the change of the name. In less than ten years he consecrated 140 churches;<sup>1</sup> and for some reason he may have given a new designation to the hospital which, as is to be shown, had been taken from the Culdees.<sup>2</sup> In his service for the consecration of churches Leonard was included among the saints invoked.<sup>3</sup>

The hospital, as may now be shown, was founded long before it was known as St. Andrews or St. Leonards. In a charter, dated 1144, dealing with the institution of the priory, Bishop Robert assigned to the canons the hospital of the city, as he named it (*hospitale ejusdem villae*); and to the hospital itself made certain grants, that it might be suited for the reception of visitors and pilgrims (*in suscepcionem hospitem et peregrinorum*).<sup>4</sup> The hospital, which was the property of the Culdees, a society of thirteen, had as revenue a seventh part of the offerings of the altar of their church. It afforded accommodation for a number not exceeding six; but Bishop Robert enlarged it, so as to make it "open to all comers".<sup>5</sup>

The facts concerning the transference of the hospital from the Culdees to the canons regular or Augustinians

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Concilia Scotiae*, pp. ccxcviii-ccciii.

<sup>2</sup> There is a record of a change of the name of the hospital at York: "Ipsum vero hospitale a tempore regis Stephani dicebatur Hospitale Sancti Petri. . . . Ipse vero Stephanus construxit in dicto hospitali quandam ecclesiam in honore Sancti Leonardi, et extunc, in antea, dictum est Hospitale Sancti Leonardi" (*Hospit. S. Leonard. infra Civ. Ebor: Historia foundationis ejusdem; Vide Dugdale's Monasticon*, vi., 609).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lockhart's *Ch. of Scotl. in the 13th Cent.*, p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> *Reg. Prior. S. Andr.*, p. 123.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Reeves' *Culdees*, p. 38.

of St. Andrews were set forth in a document included in the Magnum Registrum of the priory, which is said to have disappeared in the year 1660. Transcripts, however, from the Register were in the possession of Sir R. Sibbald; and copies of these are preserved in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> One of these extracts, *Historia Ecclesie Sancti Andree*, was printed by Pinkerton in his *Inquiry*,<sup>2</sup> and again by Dr. Reeves in his *Culdees of the British Isles*.<sup>3</sup> In the *Historia* the following statement was made: "Habebantur tamen in ecclesia Sancti Andreae, quota et quanta tunc erat, tredecim per successionem carnalem, quos Keledeos appellant, qui secundam (*sic*) suam aestimationem et hominum traditionem magis quam secundum sanctorum statuta patrum vivebant. . . . Personae nihilominus septem fuerunt oblationes altaris inter se dividentes, quarum septem portionum unam tantum habebat episcopus, et hospitale unam; quinque vero reliquae in quinque caeteros dividebantur, qui nullo omnino altari vel ecclesiae impendebant servitium, praeterquam peregrinus (*sic*) et hospites, quum plures quam sex adventarunt, more suo hospitio suscipiebant, sortem mittentes quis quos vel quot reciperet. Hospitale sane semper sex et infra suscipiebat. Sex (sed?) quod nunc, donante Deo, postquam in manum Canonicorum devenit, omnes susceperit eo advenientes."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Harl., No. 4628.    <sup>2</sup> Vol. i., p. 462.    <sup>3</sup> P. 106.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Reeves, in one of his notes appended to this passage, says that "the hospital was an important element in the old Celtic monasteries. At Armagh there was the *Lis Aeidhedh*, 'Fort of Guests'; and at Clonmacnois, the *Tech-Aeidhedh*, 'House of Guests'. Mr. Joseph Robertson, in his preface to the *Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanae* (pp. ccxxiii.-iv.) points out that provision for the erection, mainte-

The identification of the hospital of the Culdees with that of St. Andrew, which at a later time was named St. Leonards, is not difficult to establish. In a charter of confirmation David I. spoke of the hospital as given by the bishop to the canons (*hospitale ab episcopo eis datum*);<sup>1</sup> and in the bull of Pope Alexander III., 1163, Bishop Robert was named as the donor (*ex dono pie memorie Roberti episcopi hospitale Sancti Andree*).<sup>2</sup> The hospital of the Culdees, as has been noted, came into the hands of the canons; and, further, Bishop Robert bestowed an existing hospital on the canons. Proof of the identity of the Leonardine Hospital and that of St. Andrew is furnished, apart from that already given, by a document belonging to the year 1423. That document, dealing with precedence to be granted to the rector of the university, is thus signed: "Laurentius Fyfae, magister hospitalis Sancti Andree, quod dictum est, divi Leonardi".<sup>3</sup>

David, "the sair sanct for the crown," who was king when Robert was bishop of the Scots (*Scotorum episcopus*), bestowed his peace upon the brothers of the hospital (*pacem dedisse fratribus hospitalis de Sancto Andree*), and declared that whosoever gave gifts for the support of poor pilgrims would receive divine re-

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nance and management of hospitals is made in chapter cxli. of the Rule of the Order of Canon Clerics, promulgated by the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 816; and he quotes the words of the Rule. Mr. E. W. Robertson (*Scott. under her Early Kings*, i., 333) says that "it is worthy of notice that a *Hospital* is generally to be found where Culdees can be traced to have existed," and adds the questionable statement that "this hospital is generally dedicated to St. Leonard".

<sup>1</sup> *Reg. Prior. S. Andr.*, p. 190.      <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> *University Commission Evidence*, p. 234.



ward and also the king's thanks.<sup>1</sup> David, himself, did not fail in charity, since he bestowed the lands of Kenly, which were afterwards transferred by Prior Hepburn to St. Leonards College. In a deed of confirmation Malcolm IV. made mention of David's gift (volo et firmiter praecipio ut ipsi habeant et possideant terram de Kenlakin perpetualiter, quam avus meus rex David praedicto hospitali pro salute animae suae dedit et concessit).<sup>2</sup> At the end of the preface to the *Register of the Priory of St. Andrews*, the editor has given a facsimile of David's charter of the lands of Kenly, though the charter does not form a part of the Register. The king's words are: "Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse et hac mea carta confirmasse hospitali Sancti Andree in perpetuam elemosinam terram de Kenlachyn".

The hospital received from William the Lion and Alexander II. charters of confirmation for its lands;<sup>3</sup> and in addition there were papal bulls dealing with its possessions. The hospital itself, the hospital of the city, as Bishop Robert had named it, was confirmed to the priory in 1156 by Hadrian IV. (Hospitale ejusdem villae cum omnibus possessionibus et appenditiis suis<sup>4</sup>). Lucius III., in 1183, specified Kenly and Rathelpie among the possessions of the hospital, which is thus described: "Hospitale sancti andree in susceptione[m] hospitum pauperum peregrinorum cum terris possessionibus et redditibus eidem hospitali pertinentibus videlicet cum petra sancti andree et terra quae dicitur Sconin et altera terra Kenlakin ex dono regis David cum una carucata terre in Chatelai et cum terra Rathelpin

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<sup>1</sup> *Reg. Prior. S. Andr.*, p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 195.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 210-12, 233.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

et cum terra Petmolin ex dono Ade Comitisse".<sup>1</sup> Bulls of confirmation were also granted by the popes Gregory VIII., Clement III., Innocent III., Honorius III., and Innocent IV.<sup>2</sup>

In a charter by Bishop Arnold<sup>3</sup> (1159-62), confirmed by William the Lion<sup>4</sup> and again confirmed by Bishop Richard (1163-73),<sup>5</sup> there is a reference to the new hospital (totam terram quae est a vico qui est inter burgum et novum hospitale) which may be identified as the hospital of St. Andrew, as it was generally styled before its association with the name of St. Leonard. Since the original hospital of the Culdees had accommodation for not more than six guests, and since Bishop Robert endowed it for the reception of "all comers," it may be supposed that new or additional buildings were erected, and that the hospital was described as new. There was also in St. Andrews a tenement of the brothers of the hospital of Jerusalem (hospitale de jerusalem),<sup>6</sup> situated in North Street (in vico aquilonali).

The first reference to the church occurs in a document which records a meeting held in 1413 "in ecclesia parochiali sancti leonardi infra civitatem sancti Andree". At this meeting Andrew de Wyntoun exhibited a register of the possessions of the priory. In the same document the church is further described as "ecclesia sancti lenardi infra Civitatem sancti andree".<sup>7</sup> In the *Acta Facultatis Arcium*, preserved in MS. in

<sup>1</sup> *Reg. Prior. S. Andr.*, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 63, 67, 72, 77, 92, 99.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.      <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 215.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143; see also pp. 146, 151.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15-18.

the university, there is a minute of a meeting held in 1414 at St. Leonards (In congregatione tenta apud sanctum Leonardum), which doubtless signifies the church. Another minute of the faculty, 9th August, 1418, specifies the church as the place of the meeting at which obedience was withdrawn from Peter de Luna, whom Scotland had recognised as Pope Benedict XIII.<sup>1</sup> Another reference may be cited which belongs to the same period as those already noted. A bull of Pope Martin, dated the fourth year of his pontificate, contains the words: "et elemosinariam sancti leonardi infra limites ecclesiae sancti andree sitam".<sup>2</sup>

Apart from those already noted few references to the church and hospital are found in writings of the fifteenth century. From the Faculty of Arts Minutes, 1532, it appears that 2nd October was the day of dedication of the "Church of the College"; but the year of the dedication is not stated. In a Pittance Writ,<sup>3</sup> dated 1450, there is mention of the Church of St. Leonards and of a payment of money "Magistro Elemosine Hospitalis S. Leonardi confessoris". In the *Register of the Great Seal* there is a ratification, 12th August, 1471, to the Church of St. Andrew of certain possessions, among which is the "hospitale S. Leonardi cum terris de Kinnochy". Another of the Pittance Writs gives the designation of the head of the hospital.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix. II.

<sup>2</sup> *Reg. Prior. S. Andr.*, pp. 413-14. The pope was most probably Martin V., elected, 1417, at the Council of Constance. Prior James Haldenstone, 1418-43, added a note to one of Martin's bulls, which is similar in style to that in which the Church is mentioned (*cf. Reg. Prior. S. Andr.*, pp. 412-13).

<sup>3</sup> No. 118 (Univ. MSS.).      <sup>4</sup> No. 78.



Thomas Kinnear in that document, dated 3rd November, 1511, is styled "Magister hospitalis seu elemosinarii Sancti Leonardi".

There is an important series of documents, of the years 1512 and 1513, which bear directly on the hospital and church in relation to the college.<sup>1</sup> Two of these documents are incorporated in the royal charter, 1513, which has been styled "Carta Jacobi IV. continens in se duas cartas foundationis collegii Sancti Leonardi, per Alexandrum (Stuart) Archiepiscopum, et Joannem Hepburn, Priorem S. Andreae". The archbishop states in his deed that the hospital was erected by the priors and convent of the Church of St. Andrew for the reception of pilgrims from far and near, who were attracted by the miracles wrought by virtue of the relics of the Apostle. He proceeds to say, and the confession is not unworthy of the pupil of Erasmus,<sup>2</sup> that in the lapse of time, when the number of the miracles and the pilgrimages had decreased, through the faith of Christ being established (*firmata Christi fide*), there were lodged in the hospital certain women, chosen on account of their years, who, however, showed none of the fruits of devotion and virtue. Continuing, the archbishop declares that in the exercise of his ordinary authority, desirous as he is to keep afloat the barque of Peter, the Church of God under his jurisdiction, he sets up and constitutes the hospital and the Church of St. Leonards joined to it as St. Leonards College, to be called the College of Poor Clerks of the Church of

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<sup>1</sup> See Part ii.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Froude's *Life and Letters of Erasmus*, Lect. v.; Dean Stanley's Rectorial Address, St. Andrews.



St. Andrew.<sup>1</sup> He is careful to add that his purpose is not that paupers should be nourished therein, but that the number of learned men should increase to the glory of God and the edification of the people. The authorities or officers of the new foundation are specified.

John Hepburn, Prior of the Convent of St. Andrews, to whom the honour of founding the college is mainly to be ascribed, deals in his charter with endowments for the new institution. Among these are specified the lands of Kenly and the acres of Rathelpie, which had been for a long period in possession of the hospital.

A ratification of the charters of the archbishop and prior was obtained from James IV., who by the same writing enacted that the masters, regents, chaplains and students should be free from taxation.<sup>2</sup>

In the charter of the archbishop it is stated that the hospital buildings had been occupied for a time by certain women. Sibbald, in his *History of Fife*,<sup>3</sup> published at the beginning of the eighteenth century, asserts, but gives no authority for what he says, that the college was "before a hospital for seventeen poor men". The assertion, in spite of its lack of authority, is too explicit to be rejected; and it receives a certain amount of confirmation from a document in possession of the city of St. Andrews. That document, dated 24th April, 1510, recites that David Meldrum,

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<sup>1</sup> The seal of the college had the inscription: "S. Cōne. Collegii pauperum Sancti Leonardi".

<sup>2</sup> Apart from the original charter, in possession of the university, there is a ratification of it in the *Register of the Great Seal*, 23rd February, 1513. There is also in possession of the university a transumpt of the charter, dated 20th April, 1517.

<sup>3</sup> P. 270.

Canon of Dunkeld, had left 200 merks Scots to produce a yearly rent of 10 merks, "ad sustentationem cujusdam pauperis in ipso hospitali perpetuo mansuri". The poor man was to be placed "in cellula prefati hospitalis que vocabitur cellula Magistri David Meldrum".

It is not without interest to note that at the foundation of Aberdeen University part of the revenue of an established hospital was obtained. Pope Alexander VI., on the petition of James IV., granted a bull authorising the application of the revenues of the Hospital of St. Germain's of the Order of St. Augustine in the diocese of St. Andrews to the support of the masters, doctors and scholars reading in the university, of one religious person of the said order, of three poor persons in the hospital, and of three such persons in the university.<sup>1</sup>

There is no trace of any papal bull instituting the college, approving its erection, or bestowing privileges on it; and it is not unlikely that the troubles of Flodden, with the death of Alexander Stuart, and the failure of Hepburn to obtain the archbishopric, prevented an appeal to Rome for a sanction, which, though not necessary, was in harmony with the good custom of the time. St. Salvators obtained a bull in its favour in 1458; and St. Marys obtained one in 1538. Cardinal Beaton, the Archbishop of St Andrews, was appointed legate *a latere* in 1544, and in the following year he granted, when John Annand was Principal, a charter

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<sup>1</sup> *Fasti Aberdonenses* (Spalding Club), p. 9. In reference to the decay of hospitals Acts of the Scottish Parliament, 1457, 1466, 1540, 1578, may be consulted. In connection with the religious services in hospitals, where the original foundation had been changed, attention may be given to *Corp. Jur. Canon.*, Clement V., iii., xi.

of ratification of the foundation of the college.<sup>1</sup> At the same time the archbishop enacted that a special visitation should be made by the Bishop of Brechin and others. This, however, was not the first visitation of the college, as the records of the university show.<sup>2</sup> In 1612 the college obtained from James VI., probably on account of the centenary, a ratification of "the lands belonging to the patrimonie thereof". The college was described as having "educit and productit gude spirites adornit in all literature and knowledge for service of the common weill, Bot alswa as ane singular ornament to this his Majestie's Kingdome worthye to be maintenit as ane seminarie of virtew and learning".<sup>3</sup> An Act of Parliament, 1621, confirmed the old foundations of the colleges, including St. Leonards, within the university.

Martin, in his *Reliquiae divi Andreae*, quotes from some unknown source<sup>4</sup> the following account of Hepburn's foundation of the college: "Hic cum de semente coenobii sui sollicitus esset, eademque opera, et ecclesiae et reipublicae Scoticae consultum vellet, ex redivis Zenodochii (quod peregrinis suscipiendis qui ad reliquias divi Andreae visendas et salutandas frequentes olim huc veniebant, conditum fuit) et proventibus paroeciae divi Leonardi, et aliis proprio impendio acquisitis, collegium istud fundavit et erexit. Coenobiarchae institutum Alexander Stewartus archiepiscopus probavit, et literis suis et sigillo munivit."

Martin tells us that: "At the erection of St. Leonards Colledge . . . both the colledge precinct

<sup>1</sup> See Part ii.      <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Acts of the Parl. of Scotl.*, iv., 496-97.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 238-39.



and the lands belonging thereto, *viz.*, Kenlowes Over and Nether, with the personage and vicarage teynds thereof, Fawside, Rhadhelpe (consisting of 63½ aikers), the new ward betwixt Lambieytham and Newgrange, Gokstoun mylne and Craig mylne, Pukie, and other lands and superiorities of tenements in and about St. Andrews, were all given off the priorie and dismembered therefrom". Continuing, he states<sup>1</sup> that: "Shortlie after the reformation began, Mr John Winrame sub-prior of St. Andrews, and prior of St. Servan's isle in Lochleven, in the year 1561, gives, confirms and unites to St. Leonard's Colledge and principall and students there, the said priorie within the isle, with the baronie of Kirkness,<sup>2</sup> Auchmuire, Ryaly and teynds thereof includit great and small, and the vicarage of Portmoog,<sup>3</sup> with certaine annuall rents furth of Markinche Wester, Auchmowtie, and Balchristie, all which formerlie belonged to the priorie of St. Andrews".

In the *Register of the Priory of St. Andrews* there is a series of documents bearing on the monastery at Loch Leven, which, written "antiquo Scottorum idiomate," the compiler had taken from an old volume, and, according to his own statement, had set forth in simple style.<sup>4</sup> In the first document it is said that Brude, son of Dergard, the last of the Pictish kings, gave the island of Loch Leven to God, St. Serf, and the Culdees. In another it is shown how Macbeth and his wife Gruoch

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<sup>1</sup> *Reliquiae*, pp. 195-96.

<sup>2</sup> In reference to Kirkness, see *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1599, No. 913 and No. 927.

<sup>3</sup> In 1580 James VI. granted charter of confirmation of the lands of Portmoak to the college (*cf. Reg. Mag. Sig.*).

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 113-18; see also Sibbald's *History of Fife*, pp. 167-68.

(Machbet filius Finlach . . . Gruoch filia Bodhe, rex et regina Scotorum) bestowed Kirkness upon the Culdees of Loch Leven. Bishop Robert granted the Abbey of Loch Leven, at the period when the Culdee hospital in St. Andrews was transferred to the priory, to Prior Robert and the Canons of St. Andrews; and at the same time gave them the books of the abbey.<sup>1</sup> David I. ratified the bishop's gifts, and intimated that any of the Culdees not conforming to the rule of the Canons would be driven from the island.<sup>2</sup>

It is of interest to note that Kirkness, which was given by Macbeth and his wife to the Culdees, was included among the lands which John Wynram transferred to St Leonards College.

The college obtained possession of the priory in 1580,<sup>3</sup> the year in which Wynram resigned the office of prior,<sup>4</sup> which he had retained after the Reformation. Thereafter James Wilkie was styled "Prior of Sanct Serf's"<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *History of Fife*, p. 43.      <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 188-89.

<sup>3</sup> *Reg. of Presentations to Benefices*, ii., 37; quoted in M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, i., 191 (second edition). In 1581 the transference of the priory was ratified by Act of Parliament.

<sup>4</sup> John Wynram was born in 1492, and in 1515 was one of the Determinants of St. Salvators. As Sub-prior of the Monastery of St. Andrews he was a judge at the trials of Sir John Borthwick, George Wishart, and Walter Myln. After the Reformation, having adopted the new faith, he was made Superintendent of Fife. He died in 1582, aged ninety, and was buried in St. Leonards Church, where the stone which marked his grave may still be seen.

<sup>5</sup> St. Serf or Servanus was the reputed founder of the ancient monastery on the Inch of Loch Leven. Amidst the legends gathered round his name there seem to be at least these two facts,—that he baptised and educated St. Kentigern and that he died at Culross, where his principal church was, in 540 (*cf.* Reeves' *Culdees of the British Isles*, p. 124).

inche within Lochleven, and maister principal of St. Leonardis Colledge".<sup>1</sup> The designation of the principal as prior was connected simply with the annexation of the lands; and even before Wynram's death Wilkie was appointed to carry through the conveyance of Portmoak.<sup>2</sup>

Very little is known regarding the structural changes in the buildings which were assigned to the college at the date of its foundation; but Cardinal Beaton, in his charter of 1545, states that Prior Hepburn and the chapter repaired and made additions to these buildings. Certain interesting details are furnished by Martin in his *Reliquiae*, in the section styled *Of the buildings about and in the Monasterie of St. Andrews*. "The room," he says, "of old called the Senzie-Chamber . . . is now very much enlarged, and well rectified, being made a large room 80 foot in length, 20 foot in breadth;—windows to the west, with a chimney in each end, to be a librarie house to St. Leonard's Colledge". Speaking of "the refectorie, or the con-

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<sup>1</sup> Wodrow's Collections, vol. i., part ii., p. 455. In the list of those recognised by the first General Assembly, 1560, as qualified for "ministering and teaching" are James Wilkie and Johne Wynrham of Kirkness (*cf. Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*). Wynram with others was associated with Knox in drawing up *The First Book of Discipline*.

<sup>2</sup> "We are content of the dispensatioun for Mr. James Wilkie . . . to mak the annexation to St. Leonardis Colledge of Portmoak, as hes bene desyrit" (*cf. "Instructions anent Visitacioun of the University of St Andrews, 1579," Univ. Com. Evid.*).

There are Acts of Parliament, 1625, 1630, 1633, to show that the college was taxed on account of the lands of Portmoak. The freedom from taxation, granted to the college at its foundation, did not apply to these lands. See Appendix III. for notes regarding the sale of the lands of Kirkness.



vent's solemne dining-roume," he says "the gavell is now defaced and put out of ken, being made a pairt of the east side wall of St. Leonards Colledge bibliothek". The famous guest-hall of the monastery, we are told, "stood within the precinct of St. Leonard's Colledge, upon the south side of the utter close thereof, one wall whereof is yet standing. . . . And southward of the guest-hall there stood other buildings, which are now all quite demolished, and the ground turned into a fine yaird, presentlie belonging to the principall of St. Leonard's Colledge." Martin further states that the granary was demolished "about thirtie years agoe, to repaire St. Leonard's Colledge south rowmes"; and, describing the great wall, he quotes from Hector Boethius the words: "Caenobium nostris diebus, opera et industria Joannis Hepburni coenobiarchae, muro undique pene quadrato lapide, permultis cum turribus et propugnaculis, circa abbatiam ducto, mirifice decoratum: Clauditis muris appendicem etiam (St. Leonardi vulgo vocant) ubi novitii, et plures alii eorum aequales, sub praeceptoribus tyrocinii rudimenta deponunt".<sup>1</sup> One other reference from the *Reliquiae* may be noted. Giving Fordun's words regarding Bishop Arnold, "Obiit in infirmatorio canonicorum," Martin adds, "probably is meant hereby the Xenodochium, now St. Leonard's Colledge".<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Boethius in his *History of the Bishops of Aberdeen* describes Hepburn's work in connection with the founding of the college (see Appendix IV.).

<sup>2</sup> Lindsay of Pitscotti, mentioning the sights witnessed by Mary of Guise, says: "The Queen passed through the town. She saw the Black-friars, the Grey-friars, the old college and the new college, and St Leonards."

Robert Wilkie, the Principal of the college, who died in 1611, erected some of the buildings, as is duly recorded on his monument on the wall of the chapel.

An inventory, made by the official visitors and preserved among the university papers, shows us the furnishings of various rooms in the college in the year 1544.<sup>2</sup> Three different chambers and a cubicle are mentioned. Dr. Lee, in a note inserted in the appendix to Irving's *Memoirs of Buchanan*, suggests that the first chamber referred to in the inventory was the one which George Buchanan as principal occupied; and with a touch of irony says: "As a specimen of the comfort of living in colleges about this period, I shall insert the inventory of the most splendidly furnished chamber in St. Leonards College".<sup>3</sup>

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, down to the date of the union of the colleges, there was incomplete accommodation in St. Leonards, and also frequent dilapidation of existing fabrics. In a document styled "The Prejudices of St. Leonard's College in relation to their necessary charges, to be given in to the Lords and others of the Visitatione," complaint was made that there were not sufficient rooms for the scholars, that the intention to build up the south side of the close and repair the oldest part of the college, except the necessary work on the roof, had to be abandoned, and that there was a burden of debt through loss and diminution of rents from land. That burden had been increased through "repaireing the houses suddenly brunt with fyr," and through money "laid

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix V.      <sup>2</sup> See Appendix VI.      <sup>3</sup> P. 381.

out be the present Principall in tyme of the infection of the said colledge".<sup>1</sup>

The financial difficulties of the college may be seen in the fact that in a petition of 1649 it was asked that the number of the bursars should be reduced for a time.<sup>2</sup> In that year a commission agreed, at the desire of the masters of the colleges, to make good the losses sustained through the augmentation of ministers' stipends by grants from the rents of the bishopric and priory; and it was also determined "that for the same effect such timber and iron work taken down lately off some house within the Abbey, called the Old Innes, shall be roused and sold to any of the three colleges, according to the proportion of their several losses, as they shall be clearlie instructed".<sup>3</sup> In 1677 the archbishop and other visitors required the principal to "sett vigorously about the repairing of the Fabrick this Summer";<sup>4</sup> but it does not appear that any considerable sums were available for the purpose. Among the documents preserved in the university is an account-book which contains statements of sums gathered in different parishes, from 1702 to 1706, which were to be expended on the repair of the college buildings. The amount obtained, however, was small, and could have been of little use.

In the Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs there is a minute of a meeting, held at Glasgow, 5th August, 1703, in which it is stated that "the Conventione having considered the petition given in by the

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<sup>1</sup> *Univ. Com. Evid.*, pp. 201-2. No date is given in this document, but it follows a memorandum, dated 1616.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 214.



maisters of St. Leonards Colledge in St. Andrews and the reasons therein presented, they appoynt the agent to make payment to them of the sowme of three hundreth marks as a gratuity given to them for assisting the reparation of the said colledge".<sup>1</sup>

Any repairs effected were inadequate, as a commission found in 1718 that the old building on the north side of the quadrangle, commonly called the Stone Trance, was ruinous. The commission proceeded to order the old building to be taken down, and a new one to be erected; and at the same time had under consideration a report that certain regents were without rooms in the college.<sup>2</sup>

Macky, in his *Journey through Scotland*, published in 1723, describes the college and tells of the ruinous condition of some of the buildings. "It consists," he wrote, "of one spacious square: on the south side are still the old cells of the monks, consisting of two stories, just as the monasteries are abroad. On the north is the Chapel, and to the west is a goodly pile of Building, but all out of Repair. From the Chapel to these buildings they are now erecting some new good apartments. The gardens behind the south apartments are very spacious and well kept."<sup>3</sup>

It seems from the evidence that can be obtained that the houses required for the regents and students indicated in the statutes were never completed; and that the college was always burdened with debt owing to exceptional expenditure for repairs, and to the failures to obtain the full rents from the lands. The

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. iv., 349.

<sup>2</sup> *Univ. Com. Evid.*, pp. 226-230.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 87, 88.

financial condition of the college must undoubtedly have interfered with its usefulness, as, though there were valuable endowments, these were required for the support of the regents and students and afforded almost nothing for the maintenance of buildings. Yet Lord Bute was certainly not accurate when he declared in the Rectorial Address delivered at St. Andrews that "St. Leonards College may be said to have collapsed from inanition". The union of the college with St. Salvators removed many of the money difficulties. Buildings could be sold, and were sold; but even after the sales the United College authorities were unable, or did not consider themselves obliged, to preserve the structures, such as the church, for which there were or could be no purchasers. Pennant in his *Tour in 1772*, says: "St. Leonard's College was founded by Prior Hepburn in 1512. This is now united with the last (St. Salvators), and the buildings sold and converted into private houses." Boswell confirms what Pennant relates regarding the sale of buildings. In the *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, there is this record: "Aug. 18, 1773. After supper we made a procession to St. Leonard's College . . . That College had some time before been dissolved; and Dr Watson, a professor here (the historian of Philip II.), had purchased the ground, and what buildings remained." In the minutes of the United College, 1771 and 1772, there is a record of the sale of the properties and feuing of the ground to Dr Watson. It was resolved, as a preliminary condition, that "the walls and area of St. Leonards Church are to be reserved as the college property, and not to be included in the intended feu". The sum at which the buildings,

area, and garden were valued was £400 sterling; and it was arranged that £200 should be paid in cash, and that in place of the remaining £200 there should be an annual feu duty of £10.

The work of destruction or ruination of the disused buildings made rapid progress, since within a generation after the union of the colleges the Rev. J. Wesley wrote in his *Journal*, under date 27th May, 1776: "What is left of St. Leonard's College is only a heap of ruins".<sup>1</sup> Even the remains of some of the original structures disappeared, as may be seen from Lyons' statement in his *History of St. Andrews*. Speaking of the college, as it stood in his day, he says: "All that now remains of it is the ruined chapel, the old hall, and a few buildings which have now been converted into dwelling-houses and offices. On the largest of these is this inscription 'Erexit Gul. Guild, SSTD. 1655' . . . St. Leonards hall is an ancient edifice, having upon it the arms and motto of Prior Hepburn, supported by two angels, extremely well executed. The building consists of three long but narrow apartments, two of which were probably used as a refectory and dormitory for the students of the college."<sup>2</sup>

Martin, as already noted, records that the "gavell of the convents solemne dining-roume" became part of the college library. Donations of books were made by Hepburn, George Buchanan<sup>3</sup> and others; and in time the library became the most important of those attached to the colleges.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iv., 75.      <sup>2</sup> Vol. ii., pp. 205, 210.

<sup>3</sup> See Dr. Lee's list of books given by Buchanan in Irving's *Memoirs of Buchanan*, pp. 382-85.



In the *Miscellany* of the Maitland Club<sup>1</sup> may be found the "Inventories of Buikis in the Colleges of Sanctandros, 1588-1612". The catalogue of the St. Leonards Library is subscribed by Mr. Robert Wilkie, the principal, with this note: "Thair ar sum ma Buikis in the Librarie, quhilk tyme culd nocht permitt to seik out. This is the catalogue of the buikis as we might haif it for the tyme." The editor of the *Miscellany* makes the following statement: "The Library of St. Leonard's College owed its existence to Prior Hepburn, and was increased chiefly by the gifts and bequests of the successive principals—at least almost all the most ancient books bear the names either of John Hepburn (founder of the College) or of Alexander Young, Thomas Cunningham, John Annand, John Law, John Duncanson, George Buchanan, James Wilkie, and Robert Wilkie, the principals of the college from the time of its erection in 1512 to the year 1611. It was afterwards greatly augmented by the Earl of Buccleuch, by Sir John Scott of Scotstarvet, and especially by the munificent gift of Sir John Wedderburn, physician to Charles I., who was regent in that College from the year 1620 to 1630, and by the legacy of Dr. Mungo Murray, son of William Murray of Ochertyre (one of the regents from 1625 to 1635), who was afterwards Professor of Astronomy in Gresham College, and Rector of Wells, and who before his death in 1670 bequeathed several thousand volumes to that College,—a bequest which is thus commemorated in the inscription on his monument:—

Moriens Collegio Leonardino  
Lectissimis multis instructam libris  
Suam legavit Bibliothecam."

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., pp. 305-29.

Prior Hepburn, at, or shortly after, the foundation of the college, drew up a set of statutes which were to be inviolably followed. They dealt with the admission, studies, religious exercises, conduct and correction of the students, and with the appointment of the principal, regents and other officials.

In 1544 a confirmation of these statutes was granted by James (Stuart) the commendator and Alexander Myln, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, the administrator of the priory.<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to discover the reasons for this transaction, but it may be conjectured that they had to do with the circumstances which led to Cardinal Beaton's confirmation of the charter of foundation. "Prior Hepburn," says Sir Alexander Grant, "proceeded to draw the Statutes, in which a strict 'order of living' was prescribed, looking like a milder copy of the rule of life at Montague College, under Standon."<sup>2</sup> In his *Life of Major* Dr. Æneas Mackay states that "St. Leonards was modelled after the college for poor scholars at Louvain";<sup>3</sup> but it is difficult to appreciate the force of this statement. It is difficult, too, to follow Sir Alexander Grant in his comparison. A perusal of the new statutes, 1502, of Montague College shows that apart from the endowment of poor scholars and the control by the chapter that comparison is unfortunate.

The principal, by the statute, received, besides food and certain other things, ten pounds per annum, and had a youth as a servant; and each regent obtained lodging and food, and as salary the sum of ten merks.

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<sup>1</sup> See Part ii.

<sup>2</sup> *The Story of the Univ. of Edinb.*, i., 13, 178-80.

<sup>3</sup> John Major's *Greater Britain* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), p. lxix.

As no general account-book has been preserved there is no precise means of discovering the salaries paid to the officials in each particular period; but as the original salaries ceased to be adequate, augmentations became necessary and these, it is known, were made from time to time.

In 1580 complaint was made that one of the "Headis of the acte of Reformation and of the Foundation nocht kept" was that in each college "the Principall master should have for his stipend ane hundreth poundis, and three chalder of victuall".<sup>1</sup> Shortly after the complaint was made, however, the salaries in the college were raised. As appears from an undated document in possession of the university, Robert Wilkie, who held the office of rector, stated that the principal received one hundred merks and each regent fifty merks, apart from the allowance for board. In 1642 a sum of £1,000 was given for the increase of the salaries in St. Leonards;<sup>2</sup> and again in 1668 a grant was made from the king's rents and customs of Scotland. The terms were:—

"The soume of Ane Thousand merkis Scots money shall be given yearlie to the principall of the Colledge of St. Leonards with express provisione that the soume of Ane Hundreth merkis thereof shall be yearlie payed be him to ilke ane of the four professors of Philosophie in the said Colledge. And the soume of Two Hundreth merkis yearlie to the professor of humanitie there for augmentation of their stipend and maintainance."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Univ. Com. Evid.*, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> *Reg. Mag. Sig.* The grant was ratified Feb. 24, 1645, by Parliament.

<sup>3</sup> Ratified by Parliament in 1672.



There is, further, a record that in 1695 the principal was authorised to pay "a reasonable maintenance, according to the custom of the other colleges of philosophy, being at the very lowest fifty merks quarterly to every Regent for their diet";<sup>1</sup> and, in 1718, the University Commissioners found that the principal had "only right to one hundred merks for salary".<sup>2</sup>

In the Act of Parliament uniting the two colleges it was stated that at the time of the union the principal's salary amounted to one hundred and thirty pounds, two shillings and fivepence and one-sixth of a penny; the salary of the three professors of Philosophy and the professor of Greek was forty-six pounds, and that of the professor of Humanity thirty-nine pounds fourteen shillings and sixpence and one-third of a penny. In that Act there are statements regarding different grants of money to the University of St. Andrews, and the shares of these grants received by St. Leonards. By an Act of 1672 a grant of vacant stipends and benefices of churches for a period of seven years was made, and the college received yearly fourteen pounds, thirteen shillings and fourpence. In 1681 half a month's cess was imposed on the land rent for the use of the university, and from that the college obtained an annual sum of one hundred and seventeen pounds, fourteen shillings and fourpence. A grant given in 1695 was divided so that St. Leonards received each year one hundred and forty pounds; and from another, given in 1729, the sum obtained was one hundred and fifty-seven pounds, sixteen shillings and elevenpence and one-third of a penny.

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<sup>1</sup> *Univ. Com. Evid.*, p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 225.

According to Archbishop Stuart's charter the "master and director" of the college was to be a canon of the chapter, and by Hepburn's statutes he was to be chosen by the prior, while the regents were to be selected by the prior and the master or principal. The oldest deed in which a principal is named is the transumpt, dated 1517, of the James IV. Charter. In it Alexander Young is styled canon regular of the monastery and master of the college. Besides Young, in the period before the Reformation, the office of principal was filled by Gavin Logie, Thomas Cunningham, John Annand, John Law and John Duncanson.

For some time after the foundation of the college the principalship was not a life appointment. In the Faculty of Arts minutes there is no mention of a holder of the office till 1520, in which year it was held by Alexander Young. In 1523, Gavin Logie was principal, but in 1530 he was succeeded by Young. Logie was again principal in 1533, and during part of 1534; and at the end of 1534 Thomas Cunningham took his place. In 1540 Young reappeared as principal, and continued till 1543. After the Reformation, however, the principals were appointed for life, according to the fashion, it may have been, of the tenure of clerical offices.

George Buchanan, who succeeded Duncanson, was appointed by Moray, the commendator of the priory. When the post of commendator ceased at Moray's death, the patronage of the principalship passed to the crown; and Buchanan's successor was chosen by the Lords of the Secret Council, acting in name of the king. Buchanan himself nominated Patrick Adamson,

who was duly appointed.<sup>1</sup> There is, however, no evidence in any of the university documents to show that Adamson ever acted as principal; and James Wilkie is generally recognised as Buchanan's successor.<sup>2</sup>

Wilkie in due time officiated as minister of St. Leonards Church, and there seems reason for saying that the appointments by the crown were generally made out of consideration for the spiritual needs of the church rather than for the intellectual wants of the college.

The Presbytery of St. Andrews, being an ecclesiastical court, was no doubt justified in framing its minute in such fashion that it appeared as if the principal was second to the minister in the appointments. In the minute of 26th February, 1696, there is the following record: "Mr. George Hamilton . . . translated to the parish of St. Leonards and made principal of St. Leonards College"; and this, in the minute of 1st September, 1698: "Mr. John Anderson . . . transported to St. Leonards and appointed principal of St. Leonards College".

The reputation of these clerical principals was not great, if we accept the judgment of Francis Pringle, Professor of Greek, who, in a letter written in 1738, after the death of Principal Drew, said: "We have had a long and dreary trial (God forgive the Court) of one countrie minister after another at the head of our affairs: and so has come on't, we have for the most part lived under a cloud, or in confusion". Thomas Tullideph, Professor of Divinity, was appointed as

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<sup>1</sup> *Reg. of the Privy Council*, xiv., 40-41.

<sup>2</sup> Wilkie was a regent in St. Leonards in 1540.



Drew's successor; and Pringle, writing to Lord Hay, said: "Our College begins to revive, by the revival of ancient discipline under the present Principal, and if you add the influence of your power and countenance, who knows how soon we shall reappear in our ancient numbers and splendour? *Te Mecoenate revirescent Literae.*"<sup>1</sup> The revival did not continue, and when St. Leonards and St. Salvators were joined Tullideph was the first principal of the United College. The series of clerical principals evidently gave rise to the idea expressed by Defoe when, speaking of "the chapel belonging to St. Leonard's College," he said that "the Provost whereof must be a minister".<sup>2</sup> George Buchanan, however, was not a minister, and he was principal of the college.

Loveday, in his *Diary of a Tour in 1732*, describing his visit to St. Andrews, says: "St Leonards Church, besides it's Parish, belongs also to y<sup>e</sup> College of that name . . . St Leonard's was founded by Prior Hepburn in 1524; on y<sup>e</sup> Spot was formerly an Hospital; y<sup>e</sup> Prior founded It upon y<sup>e</sup> plan of y<sup>e</sup> Old Coll: (it's Head indeed is stil'd *Principal*) as that was on y<sup>e</sup> plan of *Paris*; y<sup>e</sup> Principal must always be in Orders, for he is Minister of S<sup>t</sup> Leonard's Church".<sup>3</sup>

The election of the regents, as already noted, was at first in the hands of the principal and prior; but

<sup>1</sup> The letters are printed in *The Scottish Review*, xxv., 67, 69.

<sup>2</sup> *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (fifth edit.), iv., 171.

<sup>3</sup> Roxburghe Club, 1890. In a note references are made to the *London Gazette* (No. 11,828, Dec. 6, 1777; No. 12,201, June 26, 1781; No. 12,208, July 21, 1781) to show that the principal of the college was also minister of the church.

in 1579 Parliament sanctioned a new method of election. The appointment was to be with the Bishop of St. Andrews, conservator of the privileges of the university, the rector, the deans of faculty, and certain masters of theology. A day for the appointment was to be arranged, and public intimation of it made, so that learned men from all parts of the realm might convene. After due examination, the candidate deemed fittest and most worthy was to be chosen.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the provision for the principal and regents there was also provision for the support of the students. Yet charity did not fail, and early in its history the college had bursaries for poor youths who sought an entrance to the Church. In 1536 Peter Sandilands, Rector of Calder, made a gift of the rents of certain tenements in St. Andrews for the support of one poor student in the college.<sup>2</sup> In the *Register of the Great Seal* there is a charter of confirmation, dated 26th March, 1577, of a donation, for the maintenance of a poor student, from the lands of Monyde-Roger. Again, in 1585 an Act of Parliament was passed in reference to the foundation of a bursary from the "prebendaire of lambelethane";<sup>3</sup> and another Act in 1606 ratified to the "Laird of Kinneard Carnegie" the patronage of the "Drums" bursary.

While the students on the foundation had a right to board and lodging, they had, according to the university regulations, to pay certain fees to the bursar. In 1521 the case of some of the determinants of that year, students in St. Leonards, was brought before the

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<sup>1</sup> *Acts of Scot. Parl.*, iii., 179.      <sup>2</sup> Univ. MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1592, No. 2133.

Faculty of Arts. It was stated that these determinants had refused to take the usual oaths and to make the required payments, and evidently their poverty was the ground of their refusal to satisfy the bursar. The faculty appointed one of the regents to inquire into the circumstances of the students, and gave him power to dispense with their payment of fees till they came to better fortune.<sup>1</sup> The faculty minutes furnish the first reference to men who were students in St. Leonards. On the 3rd of November, 1515, the faculty granted permission "*determinare*" to certain students of the college.

By the statutes the principal, regents and students were required to live within the college; but after the Reformation, when the clerical character of the institution passed away, the custom, as a document of date 1695 shows, was that all the masters should be resident "except such as have families". As early as 1579, after the visitation in 1574 by the Earl of Morton, it was enacted "that the wyffis, bairnis, and servandis of the Principallis and otheris Maisteris in the Universitie be put apart in the citie out of the Collegis, sua that wemen, to a evil and slanderous example, have not residence among the young men studentis, nor yet that the same wemen have ony administratioun and handilling of the comon guides of the College, to the greit prejudice thair of and of sic as frelie wald gif thame selffis to the studies of lettres";<sup>2</sup> and this rule applied to St. Leonards.

The college rooms were for some reason used from

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<sup>1</sup> *MS. of Minutes of Fac. of Arts*, March 23, 1521.

<sup>2</sup> *Univ. Com. Evid.*, p. 185.



time to time for ecclesiastical purposes ; and the records exist of meetings of the Kirk Session of St. Andrews Parish, of the Presbytery of St. Andrews, of the Synod of Fife, and of the General Assembly,<sup>1</sup> which took place in the buildings.

Archbishop Stuart's charter provided for the appointment of two regents, who, at a later period, were increased to four. It does not seem that in the earliest years the college obtained equal recognition with St. Salvators from the Faculty of Arts of the university. Gavin Logie, when first named in the faculty minutes, 1514 and 1515, was a "temptator," representing the non-regents. In 1516 he was a "provisor" for the Feast of St. John the Evangelist.<sup>2</sup> As a regent of St. Leonards (*colegii sancti leonardi de novo fundati*) in 1519 he requested that regents of St. Leonards should be chosen as temptatores, but the faculty refused to comply with the petition "propter penuriam assessorum". Logie himself, however, had a share of the university work, as in 1520 he was elected "quodlibetarius".<sup>3</sup>

The question of the recognition of St. Leonards was not allowed to be forgotten, in spite of the failure

<sup>1</sup> *Reg. of St. A. Kirk Sess.*, pp. xxxiii, 22, 334, 615.

<sup>2</sup> According to a minute of its proceedings, 1416, the Faculty of Arts met in the chapel of the College of St. John the Evangelist. According to another minute, 1433, the Feast of St. John the Evangelist was the feast of the faculty. The feast was held in May, and was a Mass followed by a *Collatio*. The office of "provisor," whatever the duties may have been, seems to have been a step towards the position of regent. Thomas Fyfe, *e.g.*, was provisor in 1519, bursar of the faculty in 1522, and regent in 1523.

<sup>3</sup> "Quodlibetica, *i.e.*, disputation on a subject chosen by the candidate himself" (*cf.* Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, i., 444).

of Logie's petition. A minute of the faculty, 22nd February, 1523, shows that Patrick Hepburn, precentor of Ross, in name of John Hepburn (fundator collegii sancti leonardi) had made a representation regarding the St. Leonards regents. A scheme was accordingly adopted, probably on account of John Hepburn's influence, whereby one regent from each of the two colleges and one from the paedagogium, with one selected by the faculty, were to be appointed examiners of "intrants". Thomas Fyfe, under the scheme, was chosen from St. Leonards, and Logie, who was principal, was named in the same year assessor to the dean of the faculty.<sup>1</sup>

It appears from the faculty minutes, 1524, that trouble had arisen over the manner of selecting the fourth examiner of intrants; and it was agreed that he should be chosen from the two colleges and the paedagogium in turn. Gradually St. Leonards obtained full recognition in the university, and in 1526 Logie was elected an examiner for determinants, probably the first examiner from St. Leonards. An opportunity presented itself in 1540 at which the regents of the two colleges were able to act together. It is recorded that the St. Salvators regents, with Messrs. Sheill, Gardyne and Wilkie, who were regents of St. Leonards, left a meeting of the Arts Faculty because they failed to obtain their "*desideria illicita*". Martin Balfour, it is also stated, reluctantly accepted the deanship. He had been elected dean in 1522, and he continued

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<sup>1</sup> When Logie was examiner, as in 1526 and 1530, he was not principal. As principal he could act, as he did on more than one occasion, as assessor to the dean of the Faculty of Arts.

in the office till 1542. It is probable that among the "*desideria illicita*" was the desire to have him removed from the position he had held so long.

There is a blank in the faculty minutes from 3rd October, 1544, till 3rd November, 1551; but, so far as the minutes show, David Guild, who was dean of the faculty in 1553, was the first from St. Leonards to hold the office. It is worthy of note that in the faculty minutes the Collegium is more than once mentioned, and in each case, 1518, 1523, 1534, the reference is to St. Salvators. The use of the word in connection with St. Salvators may have continued after the second college was founded; but it is possible that the writers of the minutes were not anxious to recognise St. Leonards as a college of the university.

Another point is worthy of mention. A regent, as may be seen from the records, could pass from one college to the other. Thus Sheill and Gardyne were regents, 1534, in St. Salvators; and in 1540 they held the same position in St. Leonards.

The curriculum of study in the college, in the first generation after the Reformation, has been preserved for us in the diary of James Melville, who in the year 1571 entered on the course of philosophy. He has recorded with interesting details the work of each year of that course;<sup>1</sup> and has given an amusing and graphic account of a feud between Andrew Melville and the regents in connection with the teaching of Aristotle. The regents clung to conventional forms of interpretation, and their peace was disturbed by the vigorous Andrew Melville, who showed no respect for Aristotle,

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<sup>1</sup> *Diary*, pp. 24, 25, 27-30.



their "bread-winner". They cried, we are told, "'Great is Diana of the Ephesians,' thair bread-winner, thair honour, thair estimation, all was gean, giff Aristotle sould be sa owir-harled by thair schollars".<sup>1</sup> In spite of the study of Aristotle Greek was not taught in the college beyond the alphabet and the simple declensions; and, as James Melville testified, neither Greek nor Hebrew was to be "gottine in the land".

An examination of the curriculum, as set forth in Melville's *Diary*, shows its antiquated character; and the Reformers who drew up the *First Book of Discipline* were aware of its insufficiency. In that book, prepared in 1560, it was enacted that there should be three colleges in the university, and the course of study for each was determined. The book, however, did not receive parliamentary sanction, and the scheme of reconstruction of the Scottish universities came to nothing. At the Reformation St. Leonards adhered to the new faith, and acted probably under the influence of James Stuart, the future regent, who as commendator of the priory had direct connection with the college. The adherence to the new faith seems to have given no inspiration to the institution itself, and old studies and old methods continued to prevail. At the period of the Reformation, indeed, the whole university, and with it St. Leonards, was in decadence. Ten students attended the college in 1557; four in 1560; and twelve in 1563. In 1566 and 1567 no students seem to have enrolled; but in 1569 the number in attendance was twenty-four.

In 1563 Parliament appointed a commission, with

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<sup>1</sup> *Diary*, pp. 123-24.

George Buchanan as one of its members, to visit the university and inquire into certain alleged abuses. It was said that there was "waisting of the patrimony of sum of the foundationis maid in the Collegeis of the city of Sanctandros and others placis within this Realme for the enterenement of the youth, and that few sciences and specialle thay that are maist necessaire, that is to say the toungis and humanitie, are in ane part not teicheit within the said citie to the greit detriment of the haill liegis of this Realme".

The commission led to no result, though there is in existence a scheme, said to be Buchanan's, for the reconstruction of the university.<sup>1</sup> According to it the three colleges, as in the plan of the *Book of Discipline*, were to have separate functions. One of the colleges, probably St. Leonards, was to be known as the "Colledge of Humanitie," in which the work was to be that of a secondary school; and the pupils were to be prepared for the studies of the other colleges.

In 1574 the Earl of Morton made a formal visitation of the colleges, but no reformation was effected.<sup>2</sup> Parliament again intervened. In 1578 a commission was appointed, and in the following year "Instructions anent Visitaioun of the University of St. Andrews"<sup>3</sup> were issued. The commissioners, of whom George Buchanan was one, made definite proposals for the reconstruction of the university, though they first required incitement by the General Assembly. In the report of the commissioners, which Parliament approved,<sup>4</sup> St. Leonards was continued as an Arts

<sup>1</sup> See Irving's *Memoirs of Buchanan*, Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> *Univ. Com. Evid.*, pp. 187-89.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 189-191.      <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 183-86.

college, as was also St. Salvators ; and the number and work of the regents were detailed. It was further set down that the principal should be a professor in "the philosophie of Plato". In spite of the parliamentary sanction the proposals for the reconstruction or reformation of the university produced little effect ; and in 1580 a paper<sup>1</sup> was drawn up containing "Headis of the Acte of Reformation, and of the Foundation, nocht kept". Visitations took place and reports were made time after time till at last, in 1747, the Colleges of St. Salvators and St. Leonards were united by Act of Parliament.

On the 29th of June, 1620, James VI. granted a charter of confirmation of the foundation of a chair of humanity, for the maintenance of which Sir John Scot of Scots-Tarvet had given 8,000 merks.<sup>2</sup> The regents of St. Leonards, though they had agreed to the foundation, did not welcome the regent or professor who was to teach Latin. On the contrary they put forward the plea of the inequality of the two colleges produced by the creation of the chair.<sup>3</sup> Difficulties increased when, in 1642, the sum of a thousand pounds was given for the augmentation of salaries in the college, and it was enacted that the humanity professor should receive a share.<sup>4</sup> Among the university documents there is one, without date and incomplete, which contains an intimation from Sir John Scot that as Mr. Robert Norie, the humanity regent, had not benefited by the augmenta-

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<sup>1</sup> *Univ. Com. Evid.*, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> *Reg. Mag. Sig.* Parliament ratified the foundation in 1621, and Charles I. on 26th June, 1629, granted a charter of confirmation (*cf. Reg. Mag. Sig.*).

<sup>3</sup> *Univ. Com. Evid.*, p. 210.      <sup>4</sup> *Reg. Mag. Sig.*



tion of salaries, he was applying to Parliament for permission to annul his original gift. A commission, appointed by the General Assembly, decreed in 1642 that while it was desirable to have a humanity chair the professor should not teach in private, "neither in school nor chamber," and that the four regents of philosophy should have precedence before him.<sup>1</sup> In the following year the commissioners ordained that the professor should be allowed to teach in some part of the city determined by the senate, but that he should not teach grammar.<sup>2</sup>

Sir John Scot, dissatisfied with the treatment of the professor, raised a summons of declarator before the Lords of Council and Session, and obtained sentence in his favour, so that the money for the maintenance of the chair not having been properly used was returned to his possession. He wished, however, to advance the cause of learning, and expressed to the commissioners his willingness to try to obtain an Act of Parliament for re-establishing the chair according to his first expressed intentions; and they, with the purpose of assisting him, repealed their acts anent the powers and limitations of the professor.<sup>3</sup> Parliament in 1644 gave sanction for the re-establishment of the chair,<sup>4</sup> and in the same year St. Salvators obtained an Act for the appointment of a special regent in humanity.<sup>5</sup>

In spite of the Act of 1644 the difficulties connected with the humanity chair did not cease. The commissioners of the university had before them, in 1649,

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<sup>1</sup> *Univ. Com. Evid.*, p. 207.      <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 210-11.      <sup>4</sup> *Acts of Scot. Parl.*, 3rd and 4th June.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 22nd July.

a complaint from Mr. Patrick Robertson, schoolmaster at St. Andrews, regarding the teaching of Latin. He declared that he had "groaned this many years bypast under the heavy pressure of palpable wrong received be that school of Humanity . . . in Leonard's College". He complained that not only parts of the grammar, but also the very first rudiments and elements were taught, and that "by the alluring baits of greater libertie and impunity" several young scholars were drawn away from his school. The commissioners ordered the communication of the schoolmaster to be transmitted to Sir John Scot.<sup>1</sup> What he did to answer the complaint is not recorded; but in 1649 he applied once more to Parliament, and requested that the Act of 1644 be put into force or that the money of the endowment be restored to him.<sup>2</sup> Parliament accordingly remitted to the Court of Session to give final decision and sentence in regard to the position of the professor in the college and university.

The subject of a professorship of Greek was considered by the college in 1695; and it is evident that the regents of that year did not seek, through zeal for their privileges, to hinder the advancement of learning. They set forth before a commission that a professorship of Greek was necessary, if students were "to spend a considerable time for being perfected in the knowledge of that tongue". They made the strange request that Greek should not be taught in grammar schools, giving as their reason that "there are a number of silly men who, having hardly a smatter of Greek

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<sup>1</sup> *Univ. Com. Evid.*, p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> *Acts of Scot. Parl.*, 22nd June.

themselves, do take upon them to teach others, to the great disadvantage of many good spirits". In their petition the regents sketched the curriculum in the college, in which may be seen the course of studies pursued at the close of the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup>

There is little beyond the pleasant gossip of Melville's *Diary* to show us the daily life in the college, or to preserve for us the record of memorable events outside the sphere of education. The daily life was not always peaceful, as may be seen from the account of a strife which occurred in 1607 between the students of St. Salvators and those of St. Leonards. So serious was that strife that it was reported to the secret council. In the official narrative of the council it was described as "ane very grite insolence"; and the combatants, it was stated, used "swordis, battonis, and utheris wapponis". The trouble between the two colleges had continued for a long time, fostering "private grudges, emulations, and discontentment," and had at last "burst out in action and open hostility". The council enacted that the students should be kept within their own college bounds; and that for recreation the St. Leonards students should address themselves to the St. Nicolas fields, and those of St. Salvators to the common links. The enactment, however, did not produce peace, and commissioners were appointed with power to punish offenders.<sup>2</sup>

Prior Hepburn's statute required the students to wear a cloak and hood when they passed from the college into the city. Probably the statute ceased to be

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<sup>1</sup> *Univ. Com. Evid.*, p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> *Reg. of Privy Council*, vii., pp. 332-33-38.



observed, as in 1642 a general rule was passed to this effect: "Since gravity in habite and carriage is very becoming for students, it is ordained that the whole students of the university, both in Divinity and Philosophy, go in there gowned, both within the colledge and without upon the streets." From a document of 1695 it may be gathered that the masters and students wore gowns, the former black and the latter red, throughout the "tyme of the sitting" of the college.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Kirk, who visited St. Andrews in 1677, described the university. "We went," he said, "to the third and last College, St. Leonard's; it is like the rest. I observed nothing remarkable. The students in all the three Colleges wear red gowns; the regents have black, almost such as our freshmen have in Cambridge."<sup>2</sup>

The following letter, written by one of the students, gives us a glimpse of the life, in the college, and of the changes caused by the Revolution Settlement:—<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Univ. Com. Evid.*, pp. 206, 216.

<sup>2</sup> *An Account of a Tour in Scotland by Thomas Kirk, Esq., of Cookbridge*: edited by P. Hume Brown. In 1679 Kirk published *A Modern Account of Scotland by an English Gentleman*. Referring to the cities of Scotland he wrote: "They have seven colleges, or rather schools, in four universities; the regents wear what colour'd cloaths or gowns they please, and commonly no gowns at all, so that it is hard to distinguish a scholar from an ordinary man, since their learning shines not out of their noses; the younger students wear scarlet gowns only in term time; their residence is commonly in the town, only at school-hours they convene in the college, to consult their oracle Buchanan" (*Early Travellers in Scotland*, edited by P. Hume Brown, p. 256).

<sup>3</sup> Letter to Ralph Thoresby, appended to *Diary of Ralph Thoresby*, A.D. 1681, edited by P. Hume Brown.

“ May 19, 1691. Most kind and dear Sir, . . . The first, when I came, I found very kind and civil reception from Mr. Monro.<sup>1</sup> He hath been in England nine or ten years, and there being no Englishmen, in the whole university, nay, in the whole town, save Mr. Turner, a Non-conformist minister’s son, of London, and myself, who are now companions and bed-fellows, he gave us very good instructions, wishing us to be kind and respective each to the other, and ordered us to perform duties, each his week, which we do perform. . . . I find several odd dues to pay here upon my entrance. I did enter May the 5th. It is the custom here for each regent weekly to pray morning and evening in the church within the college, and about five in the morning to perlustrate the students’ chambers, who, if they find in their beds, suffer a great rebuke ; at nine also at night, they perlustrate to see that all the students be within the college, and the porter, after that time, will not suffer any to go out of the college ; the bursers also read their week about before the prayers in the church, and we do, morning and evening, sing a psalm. It is a very fine college, and far better entertainment than I expected to meet withal. I could wish that we had more English boys here, there being so very good order kept here. . . . The ruins of this town do show the famousness of it : there have been six churches in it, yet none now, save the town-church and our college-church, where there is service ; and our college-church is now vacant for want of a principal ; the late principal is cast out for not conforming to the present government ; and so were all the regents in our college, save one.

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<sup>1</sup> Regent in St. Leonards College

. . . Your most humble, most obliged servant, Tho. Jackson. . . You may direct for me, Student at St. Leonard's College, in St. Andrews, Scotland."

Mr. William Dunlop, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Edinburgh, who wrote from St. Andrews, in 1713, to Wodrow the historian, described the attitude of St. Leonards to the ecclesiastical politics of the day. "The gentlemen in this country," he wrote, "are generally poisoned with ill principles, which too much appears from their sons attending the Episcopal meeting-house in this place, . . . for I believe the large half of the students in both colledges go there, and though the old colledge masters are pretty right, and all the regents here attend the established Church, yet severals of the St. Leonardine masters incline yt way, and I believe, instead of discouraging their scholars they influence them to separate from the church, and great many people in town are tainted with jacobitish principles, and the students fired guns throughout all the pretender's birthday, and I believe yt impostor's health was generally drank on yt occasion, and though both the town and colledge churches are pretty throng, yet the archdeacon has by far the gentilest congregation in town."<sup>1</sup>

It is recorded in the minutes of the university, 10th February, 1716, that some of the students, among whom was Arthur Ross of St. Leonards, did violently take from a carrier some of the lord-lieutenant's orders appointed to be intimated in the parish churches. In the minute of 24th February it is stated that "Arthur Ross being instigate by his own vile and corrupt nature,

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<sup>1</sup> *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, xxvi., 740.



casting off all fear of God and respect to the authority of our only rightful and lawful sovereign King George" had with a pistol in his hand forced from the carrier one of the lord-lieutenant's warrants "to the great affront of his majesty's authority". Ross made frank confession of his share in this local Jacobite plot; and order was given that he should be whipped by Pringle, the Greek Professor in St. Leonards, and that his gown should be taken from him. Another Jacobite plot, even of less harmful character, was discovered, and word of it was communicated to the senate, as appears from the minute, dated 1st March, 1716.<sup>1</sup> Several students of St. Leonards, "on that day the pretender was proclaimed," went with pistols in their hands to the janitor's house, and forced the keys of the church and steeple from the janitor's wife. The door of the steeple was opened, the stair was mounted, and the bell was rung. The professors, when information was lodged, delayed consideration of the case; and as there is no record of any judgment, it is probable that they resolved to go no further, and so made themselves parties, in spite of their loyalty to King George, to the Jacobite demonstration in St. Leonards.

Recreation and amusement were of course not prohibited. The bowling green, about which there is a note in 1714,<sup>2</sup> may have afforded gentle exercise to regents and students in days before the conflict of the old and the new faith. James Melville in his *Diary* narrates: "For archerie and goff, I haïd bow, arrose,

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Shairp's *Sketches in History and Poetry*, p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> *St. Leonards College Minutes*, 19th June, 1714 (MS. in University).

glut and bals. . . . Yit now and then I lernit and usit sa mikle bathe of the hand and racket catche as might serve for moderat and halsome exercise of the body.”<sup>1</sup> Plays were acted from time to time, though the custom suggests the manners of the Catholic churchmen rather than the severer habits of the Reformers. Knox himself was the spectator of a play written by Davidson, a St. Leonards regent, in which “the castle of Edinbruche was beseiged, takin, and the captan with an or twa with him, hangit in effigie.”<sup>2</sup> James Melville shows us that in St. Andrews, as in other universities, there were festivities at the time of graduation. “That year” (1573), he says in the *Diary*, “we haid our Bachelor act, according to the solemnities then used of declamations, banqueting and playes.”<sup>3</sup> In the following year, on Sunday, the 1st of August, as a minute of the kirk session records, the “Comede of the forlorn sone” was played in the city; but care had been taken to have it revised by the minister of the parish, the provost of St. Salvators and the principal of St. Leonards. Perhaps the aid of the provost and the principal was sought, as there might be members of the colleges among the spectators.<sup>4</sup>

At the bachelor act, so late as 1595, there was a play; but it caused trouble, as the kirk session minute indicates:—

“March 1, 1595. The quhilk day, Jhone Ros, maister of the sang scole, maist humlie, with all reverence on his kneis befor the sessioun, askit God mercy and the kirk forgifnes for his negligens, and for his

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<sup>1</sup> *Diary*, pp. 29-30.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> *Reg. of St. Andrews Kirk Session*, p. 396.

using and playing of ane part of the comode and play in St. Leonardis College, tyme of the last baichelar act, by advys of the kirk; as also M<sup>r</sup> Jhone Heklein, regent to the baitchelaris and M<sup>r</sup> Jhone Dowglas, pedegog to my Lord Bucheane, confessis, in presens of the sessioun, that it wes aganis thair willis that the samyn play wes playit; and promissis heireftir to stay and withstand all sic thingis at thair power, and nevir to do the lyke in tyme cuming. And thairfor the sessioun ordanis Jhone Rosis humiliatioun, and thair declaratioun and promis, to be publisit to the pepill Sunday nixttocum.”<sup>1</sup>

In the history of the Scottish Reformation the College of St. Leonard has a place of distinction. Bishop Leslie, writing when the old ecclesiastical order had changed, spoke of St. Andrews as having “a famous universitie” and wished that they in the university “flourished als weil in thair theologie as they flourish in thair philosophie, and utheris humane studies”.<sup>2</sup> The decadence of theology, as it seemed to Leslie to be, was due in no small degree to members of the College of St. Leonard. The burning of Patrick Hamilton, in the period when men were hearing word of the spiritual revolution in Germany, quickened thought and inspired criticism; and the martyrdom had consequences unseen

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<sup>1</sup> *Reg. of St. Andrews Kirk Session*, pp. 813-14. In the report of a visitation of the college in 1588 it was stated that “they are content the banquetting, reatousnes of clething, and libertie grantit to the scoleris at the Bachiler Artis be dischairgit, provyding thay want not thair *tria nobilia* appointit to thame be the foundatioun, at the saidis Bacheler Artis” (*Univ. Com. Evid.*, p. 195).

<sup>2</sup> *History*, published in Latin in 1578; translated, c. 1596, by Father James Dalrymple.



by priest or prelate. Knox records that "within schort space many begane to call in doubt that which befor thei held for a certaine veritie, in so much that the Universitie of Sanctandrose, and Sanct Leonardis Colledge principallie, by the labouris of Maister Gawin Logy, and the novises of the Abbay, by the suppriour, begane to smell somewhat of the veritie, and to espy the vanitie of the receaved superstitioun".<sup>1</sup> Calderwood, the Church historian, adds that "Mr. Gawin Logie instilled into his scholars the truthe secreitlie, which they, in processe of time, spread through the whole countrie, whereupon did arise a proverbe, 'Yee have drunken of Sanct Leonards well'".<sup>2</sup>

Logie was not the first member of the college to incline to the new faith. Patrick Hamilton, after graduating at the University of Paris, was in 1524 incorporated in the university,<sup>3</sup> and had as associates in the city Alexander Alane (Alesius), Alexander Seytoun and Henry Forrest, who had been students in St. Leonards. Hamilton, attacked for his religion, died in front of the gate of St. Salvators, as did Forrest near "the North-church stile of the Abbey Church"; while Alesius and Seytoun, more than suspects, were forced to flee from the country.<sup>4</sup> Thus did St. Leonards in the years of her youth give martyrs and confessors for the reformed faith.

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<sup>1</sup> *History*, i., 36 (Laing's edition).

<sup>2</sup> *Historie of the Kirk of Scot.*, i., pp. 82-83.

<sup>3</sup> "Congregacione arcium facultatis in novis scholis eiusdem tenta tercio die mensis octobris anno domini millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo quarto . . . magister Patricius Hamilton abbas de Ferne . . . in facultatem est receptus" (Minutes of Faculty).

<sup>4</sup> There is some doubt as to the identity of the martyr with the Forrest who studied in St. Leonards.

Of Logie's influence in spreading the new doctrines there can be no doubt, and yet little is known regarding his career as a reformer. Calderwood wrote: "This yeere (1533) Mr. Gawin Logie, Doctor of Sanct Leonard's Colledge, who taught the truthe secreetlie to manie of his schollers, was forced to flee out of the countrie". The assertion is probably correct that he taught the truth secretly; but the statement that he fled in 1533 is more than doubtful, since he certainly was in St. Andrews in 1534.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Laing, in his edition of Knox's *Works*,<sup>2</sup> examines the evidence for Logie's flight in 1533. He points out that on the 3rd November, 1534, Logie was elected assessor to the dean of the faculty of Arts, and suggests that the flight took place before the close of 1535. He states that Logie's immediate successor was Thomas Cunningham, whose name first occurs as principal on the 3rd of November, 1537. This date, however, is not correct. In a document included among the Haddington papers, of date 29th November, 1534, Logie is styled regent and Cunningham principal.<sup>3</sup> Again, according to a minute of the faculty of arts, Cunningham was principal in 1536. In that year Logie was not acting either as regent or principal. In a document, dated 8th June, dealing with a foundation for a poor scholar, his name is not mentioned among the officials of the college.

Neither Calderwood's statement nor Dr. Laing's suggestion about Logie's flight for heresy can be accepted. Among the documents in possession of the

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<sup>1</sup> *History*, i., 104.      <sup>2</sup> I., 36, note.

<sup>3</sup> *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, ii., 254.

university is a charter connected with the altar of St. John the Evangelist and St. Mary Magdalene in the church of St. Leonard. The charter, which is dated 8th August, 1537, has Logie's seal among others appended to it. It bears that the new chaplain to be appointed is to train the youths of the college in good manners, virtues, and liberal arts, to the honour of the university and the whole realm, and to the advantage of the Commonwealth, "quem admodum fecerat modernus possessor Magister Gavinus Logye dum ei corporis vigor suppeditabat et nunc per alium facit cum (ut constat) morbo et egritudine correptus per seipsum facere non possit". The implication from these words is that Logie had worked to the honour of the university and the advantage of the commonwealth, and they certainly suggest no charge of heresy. Logie, as the charter shows, was represented in the work of the altar by a deputy; and as a successor in the chaplaincy of the altar was appointed in 1539, it may be inferred that Logie died immediately before or during that year.<sup>1</sup> A George Logie, who was a junior regent, handed over the chaplaincy to the chapter on 10th February, 1539;

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<sup>1</sup>In the St. Andrews' *Formulare* (MS. preserved in the university) there is a document which may refer to Logie. The writing shows that James V. asks from the pope permission to reserve from a benefice a sum of £20 during the life of G. L. The object of the request is "ut G. L. in artibus magister clericus S. civitatis et in collegio divi N. infra universitatem S. actu regens de bono in melius crescere et virtutem fructus uberiores afferre inque literarum studio perficere valeat cupiditates." In the *Formulare* there is another reference to G. L., in the period of Archbishop James Beaton. In the record of a "purgatio," in connection with a heresy case, there is a list of commissioners, and among these are J. M. (John Major) and G. L.



and it may be concluded that he was the deputy referred to in the 1537 document.

The effect of Logie's teaching, though there was no open charge of heresy, may be illustrated in the lives of the Wedderburns of Dundee, the brothers whose work and writings did so much to advance the cause of Protestantism in Scotland.

"He (James Wedderburn) had beene brought up," says Calderwood, "in Sanct Leonard's Colledge in his youth, in the time of the governement of John Duke of Albanie. . . . Thereafter he went to France, where he played the merchant. After his returne, he was instructed in religioun by James Hewat, a Blacke frier at Dundie. He confirmed the doctrine which the other had receaved in his youth, in St. Leonard's Colledge, under Mr. Gawin Logie." . . . "Mr. Johne Wedderburne, his brother, brought up also in the course of philosophie, under Mr. Gawin Logie, being perswaded by his friends, albeit against his will, he tooke on the order of preesthood, and was a preest in Dundie. But soon after he beganne to professe the (reformed) religioun. . . . Mr. Robert Wedderburne, the youngest brother, brought up also under Mr. Gawin, excelled his brother both in humanitie and knowledge of the Scriptures."<sup>1</sup> Among the Protestant exiles from Scotland in the reign of James V. was John Fyfe, who had studied under Logie. Fyfe became a professor in Frankfurt, where he died in 1562, though Calderwood mentions a report that he returned to Scotland shortly after the Reformation and died at St. Leonards.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *History*, i., pp. 142-43.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, i., 96. Knox's *History*, i., pp. 55 (note), 527.

The old faith, as well as the new, had its defenders in St. Leonards. John Annand, styled by Knox "a rottin papist," who became principal in 1544, entered into controversy with Rough, the Protestant preacher, and, later, with John Knox. After Knox's sermon in St. Andrews, "the first that ever Johne Knox maid in publict," Hamilton, the future archbishop, wrote to Wynram that he wondered that he suffered such heretical and schismatic doctrine to be taught. "Upoun this rebuck," says Knox, "was a conventioun of Gray Freiris and Blak feindis appointed, with the said Supprieur Dean Johnne Wynrame, in Sanct Leonardis yardis, whareunto was first called Johne Rowght, and certane Articles redd unto him; and thairafter was Johnne Knox called for."<sup>1</sup>

Knox in the last year of his life, when the strife of the Reformation was over, was resident in St. Andrews; and James Melville has shown us the old man as he appeared from time to time in St. Leonards. "Bot of all the benefites," wrote Melville, "I hauid that yeir was the coming of that maist notable profet and apostle of our nation, M<sup>r</sup> Jhone Knox, to St. Andrews. . . . M<sup>r</sup> Knox wald sum tymes com in and repose him in our Collage yeard, and call us schollars unto him and bless us, and exhort us to know God and his wark in our contrey, and stand be the guid cause, to use our tyme weill, and lern the guid instructiones, and follow the guid exemple of our maisters. Our hail Collage, maisters and schollars, war sound and zelus for the guid cause. The other twa Collages nocht sa."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Knox's *History*, i., pp. 188, 192-93; see Appendix VII.

<sup>2</sup> *Diary*, p. 26.

At the Reformation John Duncanson, the principal, adhered to the new faith. Dr. Lee has given the following account of him : " John Duncanson, one of the brethren of the Augustinian priory, who became principal of St. Leonard's College in 1556, and who having been converted to the reformed religion, retained his office in the college as well as his share of the rents of the convent. Whether he acted as minister of St. Leonard's Church is not certain ; but as he was in orders, and as St. Leonards was a parish long before the reformation, it might be presumed that he did, if it did not appear from the minutes of the kirk session of St. Andrews, that immediately after the reformation the inhabitants of St. Leonard's were in the habit of attending the Trinity Church of St. Andrews. When Duncanson retired from the principality in 1566, he gave to the college a great cup or maizer, double gilt, and other articles to the value of 30 pounds ; also 20 pounds to purchase coals, and 100 pounds to the new work of the college, with 50 pounds of his yearly pension from the abbey of St. Andrews. In addition to these donations, amounting to 200 pounds, he gave two tin flagons for the use of the college, and (what appears to have been much more valuable) all his books, both great and small." <sup>1</sup>

Protestantism, though it triumphed, did not put an end to the ecclesiastical and political troubles of the country. In the *Memorials* of Bannatyne there is an account of a serious dispute between the colleges in St. Andrews. " Thair has evir bene," Bannatyne wrote, " of auld, a privie hatred of the uther two colleges against

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<sup>1</sup> Irving's *Memoirs of Buchanan*, pp. 374-75.



Sanct Leonardis". It appears that in the politics of the time St. Leonards favoured the party of Moray and Knox, while St. Salvators and St. Marys sided with the Hamiltons. The St. Leonards men became aggressive and complained to the general assembly that Mr. Robert Hamilton, minister of St. Andrews, and Mr. William Ramsay, of St. Salvators, and others refused to pray for the king and the regent. Ramsay, "being callit befor the assemblie, tuike grit displeisoure, and was not a little commoved in his mynd, whairthrow he tuike seiknes, and schortlie died". His friends, as was to be expected, "socht alwayes to lay the blame of his death upoun" St. Leonards. Knox, on the other hand, who visited St. Andrews before the strife was ended, declared "that he knew the pairt of the young men of Sanct Leonardis College to be uprycht and just in that matter ; and thairfor he wald justifie thair caus". The declaration was made in a sermon, in spite of the fact that the Provost of St. Salvators had asked him not to speak in public about the dispute.

Before Knox left St. Andrews there was a private meeting at his lodging, which was attended by himself, the "tulchan" Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishop of Caithness, John Wynram, the Principal of St. Leonards, the Provost of St. Salvators, and Mr. Archibald Hamilton. Hamilton had refused, though instructed by the archbishop and the superintendent, to go "to the said Mr. Knoxis sermond" ; and at the meeting he protested "that nather he nor any uther faithfull in the universitie be thrallit to ony minister wha exemis him self fra ordore and godly discipline". Knox, too, had a protest to make : "And first, I protest that nather the pulpit of Sanct Androis, nather yit of ony congrega-

tioune within the realme, be subject to the censure of the schoules, universitie, or facultie within the same ; but only that it be reserved to God, the judge of all, and to the generall assemblie gatherit within the same realme, lauchfullie".<sup>1</sup>

In one of the minor ecclesiastical battles of the period Davidson, a St. Leonards regent, was conspicuous and suffered for his boldness. "The ordour of four kirks to a minister," to quote the words of James Melville, "then maid be the Erl of Morton, now maid Regent ; against the quhilk Mr. Jhone Davidsons, an of the Regents of our Collage, maid a buik called the *Conference betwix the Clark and the Courtieur* ; for the quhilk he was summoned befor the Justice-ear at Hadinton this wintar, the last of our course, and banished the cowntrey".<sup>2</sup>

Before the trial at Haddington Davidson appealed to the general assembly to examine his book, but the assembly did not give him the justice which he thought was his right. The commissioner for the university "protested that the privilege of the university should not be prejudged and that he (Davidson) might be judged before the university". The assembly, however, proceeded with the case, and it was stated that Mr. John Rutherford, Provost of St. Salvators, had made an answer to the book. Rutherford was unwilling to read his answer, but said that Davidson had called him a "crused goosse," and that he had "little Latine in his book". When at last the answer was read,

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<sup>1</sup> Bannatyne's *Memorials* (Bannatyne Club), pp. 255-63.

<sup>2</sup> *Diary*, p. 28. In the *Reg. of the Privy Counc.* (27th January, 1580) there is a paper relating to Davidson's return to Scotland.

Rutherford declared that "he found no fault in the mater and substance of the dialogue, but in the forme and maner". In the end the assembly refused to arrive at any conclusion regarding the book.<sup>1</sup>

A few years later a book of a very different kind appeared from the pen of Nicol Burne, another St. Leonards man. It was styled: *The disputation concerning the controversit headdis of Religion, haldin in the Realm of Scotland, the yeir of God ane thousand fyve hundreth four scoir yeiris. Betwix the praetendit ministeris of the Reformed Kirk in Scotland, and N. B., Professor of Philosophie in S. Leonardis Colledge.*

In spite of protests, such as that made by Hamilton at the meeting which Knox attended, the university came under the direct control of the church, whether the government was episcopal or presbyterian. The zeal of the presbytery of St. Andrews is illustrated by the incident recorded in its minute of 5th July, 1648.<sup>2</sup> "The Presbytery being informed," so runs the minute, "that Mr. David Nevay, Regent in St. Leonards Colledge, hath vented diverse things contrar to the established order of this kirk, as, namlie : 1, That the Church constitutions have no strength, and are not obligatorie, untill they be confirmed by the civill magistrate. 2, That Erastians deserve not to be called sectaries. He is appointed to be summoned to compeir befor the Presbyterie this day 15 dayes."

In the presbytery minute of 11th October of the same year there is notice of another case which shows

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<sup>1</sup> Calderwood's *History*, iii., pp. 310-12.

<sup>2</sup> *Selections from the Minutes* (Abbotsford Club), pp. 255-63.



the vigilance of the early covenanters for their cause, and illustrates their watchful guard of the university.<sup>1</sup> The minute is to this effect :—

“ Compared M<sup>r</sup> William Ayton, quho being accused, if ever he said, that he repented his subscriyveing the Solemne League and Covenant, and that he called it a Band, and said, If he had it he should tramp it under his feete ; confesses that he said, he repented his subscription thereof ; bot denyed the rest. . . . M<sup>r</sup> William Tulliedaffe deponed, that M<sup>r</sup> William Ayton being reasoning with some students (of whom he was one), they demanded of him, If he had subscriyved the band appointed to be subscriyved by the late Parliament ? He answered he never subscriyved any band bot ane, quhen he was at St. Leonards Colledge, and he repented his subscription thereof, and if he had that band he wold ryve it. It being replyed, that nothing of publicke concernment was subscriyved at that tyme in the Colledge bot the Solemne League and Covenant. He answered, That same was it ; and repeited the former wordes. . . . The Presbyterie considdering seriouslie quhat M<sup>r</sup> Ayton had confessed, and quhat is clearlie proven against him, doe judge it to be grosse malignancie, and a breach of covenant ; but he not being sensible of the sinfulness and guiltines thereof, the Presbyterie referres his censure, and appoints M<sup>rs</sup> Samuuell Rutherford, James Wood, and Andro Honyman to conferre with him heiranent.”

The members of the university, masters and students, had been required to subscribe the covenant, and Rutherford had been appointed to explain difficult points

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<sup>1</sup> *Selections from the Minutes* (Abbotsford Club), pp. 45-46.

to those of "younger years and meaner capacities."<sup>1</sup> Lyon points out that in the volume containing the names of the signatories the professors and students of St. Leonards are not included.<sup>2</sup> It is not likely, however, that the college was opposed to the covenant; since the zeal of Rutherford would have coerced the members to conform, or would have brought them to punishment. While no serious trouble arose between the covenanters and the college itself, there was some difficulty with Mr. Robert Norie, the professor of Humanity. In 1643 Rutherford and Wood, at the direction of the presbytery, remonstrated with him for saying that "we ought not to speak of . . . kings, but for kings, in prayer; but such is the corruption of men that kings for the most part have moe critickes than good subjects, that takes upon them to censure, not only their publicke actions, but even ther private and domesticke affaires, yea ther verie thoughts and intentions".<sup>3</sup>

A very different example of the church's watchfulness is illustrated in the case of Mr. John Paterson, one of the regents of St. Leonards, who in 1659 was compelled for his unchastity to undergo the discipline decreed by the ecclesiastical authorities. Lamont, in his *Diary*, has this record regarding him: "July 3, 1659, being the Sabbath, he stood up in St. Leonards College, in his owne seat, and acknowledged his falt publickely".<sup>4</sup> The ecclesiastical superintendence of the college may be still further shown. In 1695 the official visitors had under consideration a charge preferred against some of

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<sup>1</sup> *Selections from the Minutes*, see under date 3rd May, 1643.

<sup>2</sup> *History of St. Andrews*, ii., 23.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Selections from the Minutes*.

<sup>4</sup> P. 137.

the masters of St. Leonards and members of St. Salvators. Complaint had been made at a synod held at Dunfermline "that there are dangerous and pernicious tenets treated in the Dictats and Theses of some of the masters of the university, which do much tend to atheism, to the everting of all natural religion, as likewise to Pyrrhonisme". The visitors recommended the rector of the university "to search into the Theses and Dictats of both Colleges, that he may give an account of whatever error or dangerous principles are taught or asserted either in Theses or Dictats".<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately there is no document to indicate what the rector did, but it may be taken that very probably the heresy existed in the suspicions of the synod rather than in the theses of the masters.

The earliest references to the church of St. Leonard, as already noted, give no account of its origin; though it is evident from Archbishop Stewart's charter that it pertained to the hospital: "*ipsum hospitale, ecclesiamque Sancti Leonardi eidem conjunctam*". Patrick Hepburn, at a later date, described it as the church of the college: "*ecclesia nostra nunc collegiata*".<sup>2</sup> The church, as it now stands, bears the marks of enlargement which, as may be inferred from the statement of Boethius, was effected at the foundation of the college.<sup>3</sup>

The ecclesiastical arrangements of the college, with its two regents to celebrate daily divine rites, demanded the constant use of the church; and the statutes required the students' attendance at mass. The chief

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<sup>1</sup> *Univ. Com. Evid.*, pp. 215-16.

<sup>2</sup> Charter, in possession of the university, dated 8th August, 1537, relating to an altar in the church.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix IV.



ecclesiastic or cleric was the principal, who by the foundation must be a canon of the chapter ; and under his authority the regents or chaplains served. In addition to the members of the college there were parishioners, dwellers probably on the lands given in the endowment, who attended the public services. The parishioners, so named, were required, in 1561, to attach themselves to the church of the city. "It is also ordered," so runs the minute of the kirk session of St. Andrews, "that the parrochyn of Sanct Leonardis salbe adjunit to heyr the word of God, and resaive the sacramentis and disciplyn, in the parrochie kyrk of the citie of Sanctandros, in tym cuming, aye and quhille mayr ampill forme of reformacion and religion increas and be had be the stablesched autoritie, and this wythowtyn ony prejudice of profitis pertenyng to Sanct Leonardis College".<sup>1</sup> It is evident from the reference to the profits that the church was not a parish church ; but the fact that parishioners attended it caused it to be so styled. Thus, in the document of 1413, the words were used : "in ecclesia parochiali Sancti leonardi". There is further proof that the church was not, in the ecclesiastical sense, a parish church, in the fact that after the reformation public services on Sundays were not resumed within it till the year 1589.<sup>2</sup> There were, however, morning prayers in the church, which were attended by others besides the members of the college, and these prayers were probably said by officials of the college.<sup>3</sup> James Melville, in his description of the

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<sup>1</sup> *Reg. of St. A. Kirk Sess.*, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> *Minutes of Synod of Fife* (Abbotsf. Club), p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> *Reg. of St. A. Kirk Sess.*, minute, dated 20th June, 1565.

second year of his course, 1572, spoke of the "prayers in the kirk everie morning";<sup>1</sup> and, as already noted, the custom of morning prayers in the church was followed so late as the year 1691.<sup>2</sup>

A cemetery existed in connection with the church and was situated, according to one description, between the college and South Street. It is mentioned in certain pittance writs,<sup>3</sup> preserved among the university papers, and also in two documents placed in the Advocates' Library.<sup>4</sup> In one of these documents, of the year 1558, it is styled the cemetery of the church of St. Leonard. There is no writing to show in what year the cemetery was designed, or for what class of burials it was reserved. It is probable, however, that the parishioners or tenants of the hospital lands and also the pilgrims who died in the hospital, and, later, members of the college were buried in it.

Small though the church was it possessed several altars. In existing documents there is mention not only of the high altar, but also of the altar of the Virgin on the north side and of the altar of St. John the Evangelist and St. Mary Magdalene on the south side of the nave. From a charter, dated 20th December, 1525, it may be seen that an increase was made to the endowment of the altar of the Virgin, on condition that the person who served at it should be an official of the college; while from another charter, dated 26th December of the same year, it appears that a sum of money was placed in the hands of Gavin Logie to be

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<sup>1</sup> *Diary*, p. 27.      <sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> *Pittance Writs*, 95 (dated 1520) and 101 (dated 1526).

<sup>4</sup> *Charters*, folios 172, 173.

invested, and the interest to be used, for the salary of a chaplain for the high altar. The chaplain, it was intended, should be a member of the college, but if he did not receive board and lodging from it, his services were to be transferred to the altar of the Virgin. The altar of St. John the Evangelist and St. Mary Magdalene, as is shown in a charter, dated 8th August, 1537, was to be served by a regent of the college.<sup>1</sup> It may be mentioned here that in 1562 James Wilkie, who had served at the altar of Maria de Pietate in the church of St. Andrews, made over to the principal and other members of the college any rights he had in connection with that altar.<sup>2</sup>

The lands given towards the endowment of the college constituted the parish of St. Leonards. The boundaries, however, were not easily determined; and during the principalship of Mr. Robert Wilkie disputes arose between him and the ministers of St. Andrews.<sup>3</sup> The matter was eventually referred to a commission, of which Andrew and James Melville were members. The commissioners advised, 6th November, 1600, that "heireftir the ministeris of St. Androis deill in charity tuiching the parochine, and the congregatioun of St. Leonardis to have thair libertie as of befoir untill the

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<sup>1</sup> Documents, in possession of the university, relating to these altars. (a) Rental of the altar of St. John the Evangelist and St. Mary Magdalene. (b) Charter, dated 6th August, 1498, in favour of that altar. (c) Two charters, dated 20th and 26th December, 1525, relating to the high altar and the altar of the Virgin. (d) Charter, dated 8th August, 1537, relating to the altar of St. John the Evangelist and St. Mary Magdalene.

<sup>2</sup> Document in possession of the university.

<sup>3</sup> *Reg. of St. A. Kirk Sess.*, p. 934.



boundis of the said parochyne be defynit".<sup>1</sup> The boundaries were probably fixed by 1617 at latest, since in that year "St. Leonards parrochyne" was taxed to defray the expenses of the king's "carriage to and fro" the county of Fife.<sup>2</sup>

The dispute between St. Leonards and St. Andrews had to do with other matters besides parochial boundaries. The parishioners of St. Andrews were compelled not only to attend church, according to the custom of the times, but also to go to the parish church. "It is thocht expedient," so runs the kirk session minute, 5th July, 1598, "that the visitouris note sic of this parrochin as passis to the preaching to Sanctleonardis kirk, and will nocht resort to thair awin ordinar kirk".<sup>3</sup> In 1600 Robert Wilkie, as minister of St. Leonards, was forbidden by the St. Andrews kirk session to dispense the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to any of the inhabitants of the town or abbey, "haveing na pretext of cullour to accept of thame";<sup>4</sup> and he in turn complained, in 1603, that the ministers and session of St. Andrews interfered with discipline in cases of offences not committed within their bounds.<sup>5</sup> On the 8th of February, 1599, the presbytery granted permission to the "maisteris of philosophie . . . that ar upon the exerceis" to assist Wilkie at the Sunday afternoon services.<sup>6</sup> The arrangement thus sanctioned did not continue for any length of time, as in June, 1600, the presbytery decreed that there should be Sunday afternoon services in the "Auld College Kirk".<sup>7</sup> These services were required, seeing

<sup>1</sup> *Reg. of St. A. Kirk Sess.*, pp. 938-39.

<sup>2</sup> *Reg. of Privy Counc.*, the year 1617.

<sup>3</sup> *Reg. of St. A. Kirk Sess.*, pp. 858-59.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 939.      <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 934 (note).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 934.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 925.

that so many people crowded to the parish church, "na preaching being in Sanct Leonardis College".

Whatever the ecclesiastical character of the parish of St. Leonards may have been, and it had a kirk session exercising discipline,<sup>1</sup> the principal of the college as minister of the church had not the privileges usually granted to, or acquired by, ministers of parishes. The teinds, from which he received a salary, were not derived from the lands constituting the parish. He had neither manse nor glebe; and it is to be noted that his name was not included in the *Register of Ministers, Exhorters and Readers, and of their Stipends*.<sup>2</sup> Further, the minister of St. Leonards was not mentioned in the *Buick of Assignations of the Ministeris and Reidaris Stipendis*;<sup>3</sup> nor was the parish included in the *Estat and Order of the Presbyteries* (1586), given by Calderwood the historian,<sup>4</sup> and given also in the *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland* as now printed. On the other hand, the parish was named in Wodrow's list, which was Calderwood's, corrected from a manuscript of the *Book of the Universal Kirk*;<sup>5</sup> but no reference was made to it by Sibbald when he gave the valuation of Fifeshire for 1695.<sup>6</sup> It is worthy of note that Robert Wilkie, as the presentation shows, was appointed to the "kirk of St. Leonardis"; but the parish

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<sup>1</sup> It is evident from the minute of 14th April, 1597 (*Reg. of St. A. Kirk Sess.*, p. 934, note), that there was a kirk session of St. Leonards; but for some time after the Reformation the minister of St. Leonards was a member of the St. Andrews session. (*Ibid.*, pp. 760, 788.)

<sup>2</sup> Maitland Club publication.      <sup>3</sup> Bannatyne Club publication.

<sup>4</sup> *History*, iv., p. 578.      <sup>5</sup> *Biogr. Collect.*, I., ii., p. 373.

<sup>6</sup> *History of Fife*, Appendix.

was not specified along with the church.<sup>1</sup> In the presentation to Peter Bruce the phrase is "to use and exerce the office of ane minister at the kirk of St. Leonardis Colledge of St. Androis".<sup>2</sup> Similarly in the presentations to Andrew Bruce and Walter Comrie the parish was not named. For a considerable time the ministers after Comrie did not register their presentations; but, in 1778, Robert Watson resumed the custom, and from his presentation we learn that he was appointed to supply the vacancy in the church and parish of St. Leonard.<sup>3</sup>

The minister, though deriving nothing from the teinds of the parish comprising the lands belonging to the college, had a salary apart from that paid to him as principal. "Soon after the Reformation," it has been stated, "the minister of St. Leonards applied to the then Commission of Platt, for an augmentation to his living; and this commission assigned to him 80 bolls of grain out of the thirds of Church benefices, but, so far from thinking that they had any right to burden the teinds of the lands lying in the parish of St. Leonard's with this augmentation, they allocated the whole upon lands within the parishes of St. Andrew's and Leuchars, which had belonged to the priory."<sup>4</sup> In the presentation in favour of Robert Wilkie to the office of minister of St. Leonards the amount and the locality of the stipend are specified.<sup>5</sup>

The fact that the church was a part of the college,

<sup>1</sup> *Reg. of Presentations to Benefices*, etc., vol. iv., fol. 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Reg. Sec. Sig.*, lib. lxxx., fol. 113.

<sup>3</sup> *Reg. of the Privy Seal*, vol. x., p. 400.

<sup>4</sup> *Printed Papers in St. Leonards Manse and Glebe Case*, 1829.

<sup>5</sup> *Reg. of Presentations to Benefices*, etc., vol. iv., fol. 38.



as Archbishop Stewart's charter indicates, and was also used as a parish church, gave it a unique position, and resulted in its having various designations. These designations may be noted in Lamont's *Diary*.<sup>1</sup> Lamont speaks of "the minister of St. Leonards in St. Andrews," and of "the minister of St. Leonards Colledge". Again, he uses the phrase "St. Leonards College" in reference to the church, and writes of "the minister of St. Leonards Church".

James Wilkie, who in 1570 was elected principal, probably in succession to George Buchanan, was the first minister of the church.<sup>2</sup> His appointment was made in 1578, but his ministerial duties must have been confined to members of the college, since till 1589 there were no Sunday services for the parishioners. For his long and good services he received a pension of £50 Scots from the Bishop of Caithness, commendator of the priory;<sup>3</sup> and it was gratitude probably which prompted him to leave to "St. Leonards College his haille clothing and bedding".<sup>4</sup> Robert Wilkie, who was made principal in 1590, was appointed in the following year "to teache the word, minister the sacraments, and exercise discipline, within the boundis of his said parochioun, conforme to the ordinance of the kirk".<sup>5</sup> In 1600 he was moderator of the general assembly.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Pp. 19, 137, 183, 188, 198.    <sup>2</sup> Cf. Scott's *Fasti*.

<sup>3</sup> The deed, dated 29th January, 1571, is among the university MSS.

<sup>4</sup> Scott's *Fasti*, II., ii., p. 398.

<sup>5</sup> *Reg. of St. A. Kirk Sess.*, p. 683. The description, "Mr. Robert Wilky, Principall of Saint Leonards College in St. Andrews, ane honest man," is found in *The Obituary of R. Boyd of Trochrig*, Bannatyne Miscell., vol. i.

<sup>6</sup> Calderwood's *History*, vi., p. 2.

In the period from the principalship of James Wilkie to the union of the colleges the ministers, with the exception of Mr. Walter Comrie, were principals of St. Leonards. Comrie was appointed colleague to Andrew Bruce, principal and minister; and for a short time after the death of Bruce was sole minister of the church. Peter Bruce (1611-1629), Andrew Bruce (1630-1647), and James Wemyss (1662-1689) had each the degree of D.D. conferred by the university; though, as Calderwood says in reference to the case of Peter Bruce, "this noveltie was brought in amongst us without advice or consent of the kirk".<sup>1</sup> Andrew Bruce was made dean of the chapter by Charles I., and the same office was conferred on Wemyss by Charles II.<sup>2</sup>

In the *Instructions anent Visitation of the University of St. Andrews* (14th January, 1579), issued in the king's name, James made this statement: "Tueching our dearest unclis sute for the patronage of St. Leonardis, we will tak sic ordour with him, be his awin advise, at our meeting, as he salhave caus to be weill satisfiet".<sup>3</sup> The uncle who sought this patronage was evidently the man described in the same document as "our dearest and onlie greit uncle, Robert Erl of Lennox". There is no indication, however, that the earl obtained his suit; and even his earldom was transferred to another, Esmé Stuart, afterwards known as the Duke of Lennox, to whose son the king, in 1611, granted the lands and other possessions of the priory of St. Andrews. Included in the grant was the patronage of the college and also of the church. In

<sup>1</sup> Calderwood's *History*, vii., p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Scott's *Fasti*, II., ii., p. 399.      <sup>3</sup> *Univ. Com. Evid.*, p. 190.

regard to the church it was specified that provision should be made for the minister, and that the duke should be responsible for supplying a manse and glebe.<sup>1</sup> The grant was ratified by parliament in 1617,<sup>2</sup> and again by James in a document which settled the succession of heirs to the lands.<sup>3</sup> Charles I. acquired the priory lands and possessions from the Duke of Lennox and by a charter under the great seal, 21st May, 1635, bestowed them on the archbishop of St. Andrews and his successors. Among those possessions Martin in his *Reliquiae* enumerates "all teyndis, personage and vicarage, rents, profits, and dewties of the parish churches of St. Andrews, called Trinitie Church, St. Leonard's Church within St. Leonard's Colledge, the Church of Leuchars, Forgund &c. . . . which pertained to the abbacie and priorie of St. Andrews as the spiritualitie thereof. Item : St. Leonard's Colledge founded within the cite of St. Andrews, with all lands, houses, biggings, yairds, pairts, pendicles, and pertinents thereof whatsumever, with the provision, nomination, and admission of the principall other masters and bursars of the said colledge, as their places should vaikie by death, demission or deprivation &c."<sup>4</sup> In 1641, after political and ecclesiastical changes had taken place in the land, Charles granted to the university the teinds of the churches and parishes of the priory : "necnon rectorie et vicarie decimas ecclesiarum et parochiarum dicti prioratus viz. ecclesie parochialis S. Andre vocate

<sup>1</sup> *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1609-1620, No. 464.

<sup>2</sup> *Acts of Scot. Parl.*

<sup>3</sup> *Reg. Mag. Sig.*

<sup>4</sup> Martin's *Reliquiae*, pp. 175-76. *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1634-1651, No. 307.



the *Trinitie-kirk*, ecclesie S. Leonardi intra academiam S. Leonardi, ecclesie de Leuchars &c." <sup>1</sup>

Charles II., in 1661, bestowed the patronage of the college on the Earl of Crawford, who thus obtained the right to appoint the principal and to take part in the election of regents. In the published *Acts of the Scottish Parliament* there is a statement to the effect that the earl received the patronage of the Trinitie kirk of St. Leonards in St. Andrews.<sup>2</sup> The statement, however, is wrong. The church of St. Andrews, and not St. Leonards, was dedicated to the Holy Trinity; and the patronage which he received extended to the college but not to the church. There is an unpublished charter under the great seal which runs: "Carolus . . . Et quod Collegium St. Leonardi in St. Andrea et jus nominationis presentationis et admissio principalis magistrorum . . . dicti Collegii sunt in manibus nostris. . . . Igitur nos . . . de novo dedimus et hac presenti carta nostra confirmavimus . . . Joanni Comiti de Crawford et Lindsay (*caetera*) cum dicto Collegio St. Leonardi et jure nominationis presentationis et admissionis principalis magistrorum."

In 1661 the priory lands were bestowed on Sharp as archbishop of St. Andrews, and in the following year the gift was ratified by parliament.<sup>3</sup> How far the church as part of the college was affected by this grant it is impossible to determine; but there is of course no doubt that it was brought under the jurisdiction of the archbishop, and James Wemyss, who was minister, was made, in 1664, dean of the chapter. At the revolution

<sup>1</sup> *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1634-1651, No. 1005.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. vi., Appendix, p. 85.      <sup>3</sup> *Acts of Scot. Parl.*

settlement Wemyss refused to conform, and was ejected from the college and the church ; and in 1691 William Tullideph was appointed principal and minister, with the status and privileges of his predecessors in the presbyterian times.

From the year of the union of the two colleges down to 1824 the ministers of St. Leonards Church were the principals of the united college. The church, however, ceased to be used as a place of worship, as it was found in 1759 that the roof was in need of extensive repair, and that consequently a considerable expenditure of money would be necessary. The professors of the united college determined that the St. Leonards congregation, by consent of the presbytery, should be removed to the church of St. Salvators,<sup>1</sup> and this arrangement was carried out, and continued in force till 1904, in which year a new church for the parish was opened at Rathelpie.

In 1829 the parish of St. Leonards was declared, after an action in the court of session, to be a parish in the strict ecclesiastical sense ; and in 1844 the court disjoined the church of St. Salvators from the parish of St. Andrews and annexed it, *quoad sacra*, to the parish of St. Leonards.

It is not altogether unworthy of note that the Leonardine bell, as it was styled, was taken to the old college steeple, where it hangs at the present day.<sup>2</sup>

After the removal of the congregation to St. Salvators the old historic building suffered from neglect, and became a roofless ruin. Dr. Johnson, who had

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<sup>1</sup> *Minutes of United College.* See Appendix VIII.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* See Appendix IX.

visited the ancient city and beheld the dilapidation of the church and the desolation of the college uttered what may well be taken as a lament. In his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* he wrote :—

“The university, within a few years, consisted of three colleges, but is now reduced to two ; the college of *St. Leonard* being lately dissolved by the sale of its buildings, and the appropriation of its revenues to the professors of the two others. The chapel of the alienated college is yet standing, a fabrick not inelegant of external structure : but I was always, by some civil excuse, hindered from entering it. A decent attempt, as I was since told, has been made to convert it into a kind of greenhouse, by planting its area with shrubs. This new method of gardening is unsuccessful ; the plants do not hitherto prosper. To what use it will next be put, I have no pleasure in conjecturing. It is something, that its present state is at least not ostenstatiously displayed. Where there is yet shame, there may in time be virtue.

“The dissolution of *St. Leonard's College* was doubtless necessary ; but of that necessity there is reason to complain. It is surely not without just reproach that a nation, of which the commerce is hourly extending, and the wealth increasing, denies any participation of its prosperity to its literary societies ; and while its merchants or its nobles are raising palaces, suffers its universities to moulder into dust.”

A list of the students of the college of *St. Leonard*, with a biographical account of those who achieved distinction in their manhood, would form an interesting and not unimportant chapter of Scottish history. Not a few who came to great position in the Church and, as



politicians or lawyers, in the State had in the sixteenth, seventeenth or eighteenth century drunk of St. Leonard's well. Alesius turned to the new faith, and, as a scholar, served the cause of the reformed theology. John Hamilton, who clung to the old, was catholic archbishop of St. Andrews and the last, and for his creed and his crimes died on the scaffold. A hundred years after the reformation, when Charles II. had been restored, James Guthrie suffered for his ecclesiastical and political doctrines and was a martyr or a felon. Many of the houses of ancient and honourable name, and among these the houses of Seaforth, Atholl, Southesk, Argyll, Lovatt, Wemyss, sent sons to St. Leonards. Of these sons the most notable, if not first in worth, was Archibald Campbell, "the great marquess" of Argyll. In the seventeenth century law had an expounder, or laws an administrator, in Sir George Mackenzie, while letters found a representative in Sir Robert Aytoun.

A detailed record of these noted men, and of others with a name in their country's history, who once were members of St. Leonards, would best show how far the college in its centuries of life has helped the usefulness and increased the fame of the university which in Scotland is "the eldest mother of learning".



PART II.





## INTRODUCTION.

THE foundation Charters of St. Leonard's College and especially the Statutes drawn up by John Hepburn might suffice to indicate in a general way that a revival of monastic life was the primary object contemplated. But the Statutes become more interesting when read in the light of efforts which were being made elsewhere, and even in the Diocese of St. Andrews, to secure the same result. A reference to contemporary tendencies will bring more clearly into relief the thoughts of a vigorous and practical man before a problem which was not however to be solved in a life according to rule supplemented by a measure of education.

At Oxford the monastic colleges were not designed "to produce great Theologians or to contribute to the advancement of Learning";<sup>1</sup> yet if their aim was mainly determined by practical needs it became abundantly clear that a religious Order could scarcely maintain its position and prestige if its members stood aloof while others made their way to the University. In the reign of Henry VI., as Antony Wood relates, the Priors and Abbots of the Augustinians in England revived the project of a college in Oxford, desirous of "having a nursery for the yong canons of their Order

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<sup>1</sup> Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, ii., 480.

in the University as others had".<sup>1</sup> The Statutes of this College of St. Mary were considered at a convocation of the Augustinians in 1446, and were finally published by the Abbot of the neighbouring Oseney, with whom lay the oversight of the new establishment.<sup>2</sup> As had been the usage in such cases both at Paris and at Oxford,<sup>3</sup> men were sent at the expense of their respective Houses with the intention that they should return and teach there after graduation. Perhaps with a view to securing new members for the Order "secular scholars," or commoners, were admitted to residence when there was room for them, or, if there was not, were lodged at the houses of laymen in the city.<sup>4</sup>

But our College of St. Leonard, while it was the creation of an Augustinian Prior and was endowed in part from lands belonging to an Augustinian Monastery, was not an enterprise appealing to the whole Order in Scotland; for it will be found that two men who presided in succession over the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, within the very Diocese of St. Andrews and during the early years of the College, cherished aims and ideals which were somewhat different from those entertained by John Hepburn.

It is interesting, however, to observe that the relations between the University of St. Andrews and the Monastic Houses in the Diocese were under serious discussion. In the collection of documents known as "The St. Andrews Formulare"<sup>5</sup> there are preserved Ordinances of the Diocesan Synod<sup>6</sup> during the Arch-

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<sup>1</sup> Wood, *City of Oxford* (ed. Clark), p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231.      <sup>3</sup> Rashdall, i., 488; ii., 477.

<sup>4</sup> Wood, p. 239.      <sup>5</sup> Univ. MS.

<sup>6</sup> Printed in Robertson's *Stat. Eccl. Scot.*



bishopric of Andrew Forman, in the years almost immediately succeeding the foundation of St. Leonard's College. One provision bears directly upon this question. The Archbishop requires all Abbots, Priors and Commendators of Monasteries within the Diocese to send a Canon or Canons to the University. St. Andrews, Arbroath, Dunfermline, Scone, Lindores, Cambuskenneth, Holyrood and Newbattle are to contribute two each: Kelso, Dryburgh, Coldingham and Balmerino, one. Their study is to be "in the sciences and the virtues" to the honour of the University and of their own Orders, while the expenses of residence will be met by the respective Houses in a suitable fashion.<sup>1</sup> The motives which Archbishop Forman gives for the decree are (1) that the University may have more students; (2) that the Regular Clergy within the Diocese may be instructed; and (3) that the Church may be enabled to make a better fight of it against heresy. Nor was this an entirely new device: it was a custom "*antiqua approbata et laudabilis*" which having fallen into desuetude was now to be revived.<sup>2</sup>

It was realised, at the same time, by many who concerned themselves with the state of the Regular Clergy that they must endeavour to influence the youths who were going up to the Universities and that they

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<sup>1</sup> Possibly some of these students were connected with St. Leonards: in one or two College documents of the period members of Monastic Houses in the Diocese act as witnesses, and the Statutes (cap. 6 *ad fin.*) contemplate "*viri ecclesiastici*" as electing "*in collegio conversari*". Cf. *Stat. Eccl. Scot.*, ii., 102, 129, 165, for subsequent attempts to enforce a similar regulation in Provincial Council.

<sup>2</sup> The Latin is printed in *Stat. Eccl. Scot.*, i., 284.

would probably be most successful if they encouraged those students who were poor. At Paris, in the closing years of the fifteenth century, Jean Standonc the Principal of Montaigu College—a place well known to Scotsmen in this period—was making vigorous efforts to reform his House. It would appear that the funds originally assigned to poor bursars had dwindled to a beggarly sum, and Standonc in 1501 informs the Papal Legate that the rich derive all the benefits of the foundation in so much that poor men are compelled to abandon the study of letters.<sup>1</sup> It was on this account that the Bishop of Paris, some years before, approved of the establishment of a “house” in the College for needy students of Theology. In 1494 the Admiral of France had provided for a chapel with the condition that “le dessus de ladicte chapelle soit perpetuellement dedié au logis et habitation des vrays pauvres escoliers” who might be students in Theology, chaplains, or students in Arts.<sup>2</sup> The Bishop, in a document of the year 1503, admits the importance of providing for the poor scholars “ex quibus in dies coenobia et divina loca religiosis populantur divinusque cultus variis in locis non mediocriter augetur”.<sup>3</sup>

This reform in Montaigu College has an important bearing upon our interpretation of the word “poor” as we find it used of John Hepburn’s foundation scholars at St. Leonards. The most superficial perusal of the statutes issued by Standonc in 1502<sup>4</sup>—and no one who had read them could possibly assert that our College was established upon this model—shows that by “vrays

<sup>1</sup> Félibien, *Hist. d. l. Ville d. Paris*, v., 721.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, v., 713.    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, v., 744.    <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, v., 727 ff.

pauvres escoliers" were meant those who combined "the direst poverty and the most intense devotion to study".<sup>1</sup> It would appear that this was an exceptional effort to combat the prevailing tendency by which students, poor only in a qualified sense or even well-to-do, came to have exclusive enjoyment of endowments for maintenance, and that the austerity of the life was designed specially to secure the proper incidence of the new gifts.<sup>2</sup> But if we turn to St. Andrews we find that a less stringent interpretation is put upon poverty. At St. Salvators in 1458 the foundationers in Arts are those "whose parents cannot conveniently support them" in scholastic pursuits:<sup>3</sup> at St. Marys in 1554 a man took oath that he had not sufficient means to keep him at college and supplicated for admission, be it noted, to the "ordo" of poor students.<sup>4</sup> The same definition is used in 1505 of the poor clerks in King's College, Aberdeen.<sup>5</sup> It might be hazardous to assert that the Prior of St. Andrews proposed to reach a more needy class: the absence of any extraordinary precision of language<sup>6</sup> induces the conclusion that he accepted the current usage.<sup>7</sup>

The prospect of securing and training novices was the predominant idea in the mind of John Hepburn

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<sup>1</sup> Rashdall, ii., 663.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*    <sup>3</sup> *Evidence*, iii., 271.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 363: "Sic divites," it is added, "non occupabunt loca a fundatore pauperibus destinata". Hay (Panegyricus, 62) uses the more precise word "tenuis".

<sup>5</sup> *Evidence*, iv., 136.    <sup>6</sup> Stat., cap. 1.

<sup>7</sup> The Earl of Morton at his Visitation in 1574 (*Evidence*, iii., 189) recommended "that the bairnis of the riche and welthy personis be not admittit to the Bursis fundat for the support of puir scollaris".



when he decided to found St. Leonard's College ; but he seems to have carried out his idea in his own way,<sup>1</sup> for there is no trace of co-operation by the heads of other Augustinian Houses. Any support and encouragement he got came from Archbishop Stuart, who professed himself concerned to improve the state of the Church so far as it lay within his own jurisdiction,<sup>2</sup> and who was certainly interested in the fortunes of his University.

Patrick Panter, Abbot of Cambuskenneth and the King's Secretary, was himself revolving a plan for the training of his own novices, as we learn from a letter of his successor in the Abbacy, Alexander Myln, afterwards President of the College of Justice and Administrator of the Priory of St. Andrews. It was in pursuance of Panter's project that Myln wrote in 1522 to the Abbot of St. Victor in Paris.<sup>3</sup> "The study of letters," he says, "which belongs especially to the Regular Clergy, is quite put out of sight, and, if something be not done, is gone for ever". What Cambuskenneth required was a supply of learned men : now there were scarcely any ; and the only remedy was to send promising novices to the Universities. Yet it would not be wise to expose them to the secularising influences which would affect them there without making provision that they should be trained in the observance of the rule

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<sup>1</sup> The Statutes are very badly drawn compared with Kennedy's provisions for St. Salvators or Elphinstone's for King's College, Aberdeen, and distinctly below the average level of such documents in point of arrangement.

<sup>2</sup> Stuart's Charter.

<sup>3</sup> For the importance of this House in the early history of Paris University see Rashdall, i., 278.

which they were afterwards to follow. He proposes therefore to send some of them to St. Victors, where they will learn the perfection of rule—"perfectissimae regulae mores atque instituta"—while they apply themselves to Theology and take their part in divine services.<sup>1</sup>

The fascinating little book of Robertus Richardinus, *Exegesis in Canonem Divi Augustini* (Paris, 1530),<sup>2</sup> bears clear testimony to the serious character of the movement and supplies us with some of the ideas on which it must have been founded. Richardinus, who went from Cambuskenneth to Paris, attempts to enumerate the causes which had contributed to the decadence of Religious Houses. There was the indiscreet admission of unsuitable persons, the failure to provide a proper grounding ("institutio") for the novices, the tendency to draw men exclusively from the immediate neighbourhood, the neglect of study and devotion, slackness in visitation, and the payment of "portiones" without insisting that the rule should be strictly observed.<sup>3</sup> He speaks much of the conduct "in domibus reformatis nostri ordinis". One mass only is said in the day "that they may the more easily have time for study and manual work": nay in some Houses, "plus reformatis," they have their "concionator" and "communis lector" teaching at certain hours. The evils among the Regular Clergy are due, he thinks, to "ignorance the mother of all vices"; but withal Seculars should not be introduced to give instruction in Monasteries.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Epist. Reg. Scot.*, i., 335: the letter is translated Chart. of Cambuskenneth (Grampian Club).

<sup>2</sup> There is a copy in the Advocates' Library.

<sup>3</sup> 212.      <sup>4</sup> 176.

Contemporary references make it quite clear that Hepburn was concerned in the main with his own House. Hector Boethius, writing of the College as he knew it during the first ten years of its existence, calls it an "appendix" of the Monastery where "novices" and "many others of like age" are trained "in habits of obedience to rule" ("religiose oboedientie institutis") whereby the Monastery "quasi subole sua a manibus nutriciorum optime impletum quam pulcherrime splendet".<sup>1</sup> Again Martin quotes a passage from a writer who was certainly familiar with the details of the new foundation and who describes the founder as "de semente coenobii sui sollicitus" if he was concerned also for "the Church and the Commonweal of Scotland".<sup>2</sup> Not without significance therefore is the earliest official designation in Archbishop Stuart's Charter, "The College of St. Leonard, hereafter to be called the College of Poor Clerks of the Church of St. Andrews," or the still more precise heading of the Statutes, which are "Statuta Collegii Pauperum Dominorum Prioris et Conventus Prioratus Sancti-andree".

Alexander Stuart seems to have supported Hepburn's scheme with cordiality. A perusal of our earliest foundation document, the Charter completed by the Archbishop with the co-operation of Prior and Chapter, might at first leave a doubt as to who was the moving spirit in the enterprise, for it is clumsily drawn and no model of lucidity. Sometimes the Archbishop speaks, sometimes the Prior and Convent; nor would it be easy from the document itself to detect the attitude of

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Part i.      <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*



the former. A reason for this will shortly appear. But there is a Notarial Instrument, a mutilated writing bearing the date 23rd April, 1512, which is of interest in this connection. It relates that the Archbishop drew attention in his Chapter to the condition of the Pædagogium—the old centre of University teaching in St. Andrews—as “ex defectu foundationis et virorum litteratorum pene extinctum . . . ac ruinosum” and that he announced his intention “to endow it and erect it into a College,” to the glory of God, the defence of the faith, and the increase of learned men.<sup>1</sup>

There may well have been other motives urging Stuart to foster learning in his Cathedral city. In the last decade of the fifteenth century King James IV. had importuned the Pope for the elevation of Glasgow to Archiepiscopal dignity on the ground, among various reasons, of its superiority over other Cathedral Churches in point of scholars<sup>2</sup>; and though the royal affections were soon transferred to St. Andrews, there was now a controversy pending with Forman, Bishop of Moray, in which the prestige of Alexander Stuart's See was involved.<sup>3</sup> We have already seen how, when he became Primate, Forman was interested to extend the influence and increase the efficiency of the University under his care.

A curious phrase in the first Charter refers to the new foundation as “nostrum principale Sanctiandree collegium”;<sup>4</sup> but we cannot say who struck this note of emulation. In the early days of the University

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<sup>1</sup> *Evidence*, iii., p. 356.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Venet. State Papers*, i., 596 (1490).

<sup>3</sup> *Stat. Eccl. Scot.*, i., 125.      <sup>4</sup> Stuart's Charter.

there was a natural jealousy on the part of the ancient Monastery and a controversy between Prior and Rector for precedence on ceremonial occasions.<sup>1</sup> It is also clear that some years elapsed before St. Leonards vindicated its position before the Faculty of Arts and saw its Regents appointed to examine. This is not the place to discuss the obscure relations between the various bodies in the University ; but it is easy to see how difficulties may have arisen in regard to the status which the new College was to enjoy. Some of the peculiarities of its position will call for notice in another connection. The phrase referred to may mean only that St. Leonards is to be more amply endowed than St. Salvators, though it puts forward claims for the College of the Monastery which were sure to be resented elsewhere.

At all events, and as concerns the Archbishop, it should be observed that on the 20th February, 1513, King James IV. confirmed at Edinburgh the privileges and immunities of the University of St. Andrews<sup>2</sup> and only three days later confirmed the foundation of St. Leonard's College with Alexander Stuart as first witness. Another fact lends additional significance to the situation. Curious anomalies in the matter and sequence of our foundation Charters suggest the inference that it was Stuart who urged upon Hepburn the necessity of securing the royal confirmation or who undertook to secure it. The first establishment was not a single act after mature consideration ; nor did the endowment and creation present at first so formal and important an aspect as they came afterwards to assume ;

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<sup>1</sup> *Evidence*, iii., 234.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, iii., 179.

and it may be that Hepburn reaped some of the credit which justly belonged to the youth who was slain on Flodden Field.

The Archbishop and the Prior acted together. The latter, with his accepted belief in the efficacy of a life according to rule, with the conviction of a practical man that something must be done for the education of the clergy, even though he could suggest a book of Solomon as a profitable alternative to "the books of the Ethics" required by the University,<sup>1</sup> was able to work in concert with the pupil of Erasmus whose thoughts must have dwelt mainly upon the fascinations and the possibilities of the new learning and much less upon the revival of a Monastic House or a Monastic Order.

The Charter granted by Archbishop Stuart, Prior Hepburn and the Convent is dated 20th August, 1512 : the Charter of Prior Hepburn and the Convent, endowing the new College with specified property, is dated 1st February, 1513 : both Charters are quoted at length in the Confirmation of King James IV., bearing the date 23rd February, 1513. That the charter of specific endowment follows the Archbishop's Charter is striking and at first disconcerting. In Cardinal Beaton's Confirmation of 1545, which will demand separate consideration, the procedure which led up to the Royal Charter is recounted not in its historical but in its natural and proper order, the endowment by Hepburn

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<sup>1</sup> *Stat. Fac. Art.* (MS.) and *Stat.*, cap. iii. It is worth noting that Hepburn takes it upon himself to prescribe a course : this probably gave rise to difficulties with the Faculty of Arts. The Faculty of Theology classified the books of Solomon, including the Song, under "libri sapientales" (Univ. MS.).



coming first. Further, it is remarkable that the Precept of Seisin<sup>1</sup> on Hepburn's Charter is dated some days *before* the Charter, and that the Precept, which contains an enumeration of properties otherwise identical with that in the Charter, specifies one property not referred to in the Charter and not given to the College until 1522.<sup>2</sup> A closer examination of the Archbishop's document in the light of these facts serves to make its somewhat confused character intelligible. It was referred to afterwards as a confirmation by ordinary authority: in strictness it is not a mere confirmation but a joint foundation by Archbishop, Prior and Convent, which indeed secured the Archiepiscopal ratification and hence was regarded for the time as quite sufficient to start the College upon its career. It is suggested, in fact, that Hepburn set the College agoing before he had quite completed his plans for its support, and that very possibly the relations of the new corporation to the Monastery, if corporation it was to be, had not yet presented themselves for discussion. The more the situation is considered the more probable becomes the view that Hepburn did not at first intend to give the College a formal charter of endowment. It was an adaptation of the Hospital for scholastic purposes and for the special benefit of the Monastery, so that it might naturally be expected to inherit the status of the Hospital and remain a part of the Monastery itself. When Stuart's Charter relies upon the assistance of the King and the Pope, the reference, to judge by the context, is probably no more than a loyal and pious expression. There were immunities to be secured by Royal con-

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<sup>1</sup> College Documents.      <sup>2</sup> Peikie.

firmation<sup>1</sup>; and we may conjecture that when these immunities were desired it became necessary to create a more or less distinct community to enjoy them. Such a hypothesis would serve to explain the haste in which Hepburn's Charter was drawn up and which probably brought about the informality pointed out above in connection with the Precept of Seisin. It may be not without interest to indicate some facts which seem to strengthen this conclusion.

Obviously the first point of importance is the relation of the Hospital of St. Leonard to the Monastery. We are told that houses for the reception of the poor man and the pilgrim came to be planted at the gates of Monasteries lest the discipline of the cloister should be disturbed, but that such houses formed parts of their respective Monasteries so as to be under their direction and administration.<sup>2</sup> This was the condition of the Hospital which came to bear St. Leonard's name. Again and again it was confirmed to the Canons Regular of St. Andrews with the lands and possessions pertaining.<sup>3</sup> Thus while Hepburn describes certain property as having belonged to the old Hospital,<sup>4</sup> his language must not be interpreted in the sense that the Hospital administered that property; and we can understand how our first document states that the new College is to be maintained in part "from rents and possessions and resources of the Monastery of St. Andrews".<sup>5</sup> If this was so it might naturally be expected that the old relationship of the Hospital to the Monastery should continue in the case of a College

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<sup>1</sup> Royal Charter.      <sup>2</sup> Van Espen, *Jus. Eccl.*, ii., 37, 21.

<sup>3</sup> See Part i.      <sup>4</sup> Charter of Endowment.      <sup>5</sup> Stuart's Charter.

which was designed primarily for monastic ends and that the new adaptation should not enjoy the rights of a self-governing corporation. It is true, indeed, that our first document speaks of the College as now partially endowed "per cartas et sasinas"; but whatever that phrase may mean it must be interpreted in the light of the general situation existing. When Hepburn came to endow the College by charter in 1513 he specified what had pertained to the Hospital. It seems to be certain that he did not grant all that had so pertained; and the question naturally arises as to whether he had any special motive prompting him to grant what he did actually give.

Some lands are expressly referred to in the Register of the Priory as attached to the Hospital from old time. There were, among others, Kenly and Rathelpie,<sup>1</sup> and also in all probability lands near the Abbey.<sup>2</sup> It is remarkable that along with Kenly and Rathelpie the College receives property in Burn Wynd, portions of which had pertained to the Hospital.<sup>3</sup> The history of the Parish of St. Leonard is not a very promising subject for investigation; but it seems not unlikely that the lands which passed from the Hospital to the College were lands long connected with the Hospital Church.

In the thirteenth century the Master of the Hospital of Loch Leven had to serve in a church annexed to the Hospital and the natural tendency would seem to have been that the dwellers on the land of the Hospital should be attached to that church, for it is very carefully provided that the parish church of Portmoak

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<sup>1</sup> See Part i.    <sup>2</sup> *Reg.*, 378.    <sup>3</sup> Hepburn's Charter.



shall not be deprived of its dues from them whatever land the Hospital may subsequently acquire in that parish.<sup>1</sup> Again, the Hospital of St. Leonard at Lanark formed the centre of "an ecclesiastical district comprising chiefly its own lands," commonly known as "St. Leonard's Parish," though this territory did not in the end acquire independent parochial status.<sup>2</sup> Most interesting of all is a letter in which Patrick Panter gives information for a proposed renovation of the Hospital of the Virgin Mary near Montrose. He recommends that a vicar with the cure of souls be appointed to minister to the inhabitants of the Hospital lands.<sup>3</sup>

The decay of the Hospital in St. Andrews did not mean the decay of its Church. Nothing strikes a reader of the documents bearing on the early history of the College more than the persistence with which it is described as "situate near the Church of St. Leonard".<sup>4</sup> For want of definite testimony, therefore, we may conjecture that the Church of the Hospital had acquired some kind of parochial connections, that these were maintained though the Hospital had fallen upon evil days, and that it may have been such territorial connections of long standing that determined what lands would most conveniently be assigned to the College. For the Church of St. Leonard was now to become the Church of St. Leonard's College. Prior Patrick Hepburn in 1537 actually describes the Church as "nunc collegiata,"<sup>5</sup> no doubt loosely and in the

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<sup>1</sup> *Reg. Prior.*, 176.    <sup>2</sup> *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, i., 120.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Reg. Scot.*, i., 293.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf.* also the heading of the Statutes and the preface *ad fin.*

<sup>5</sup> College Charters (Altarages).

sense as above, for the College did not conceive itself to have obtained the right of meeting "chapterly" till after Cardinal Beaton's confirmation in 1545. In spite of this and of the fact that the old parochial character of the Church seems to have fallen somewhat into abeyance as years passed, the draftsmen of legal documents persisted in calling it "ecclesia parochialis," and, as we have seen, located the College by reference to it.

There were other peculiarities in the status of the Church which deserve attention. By August, 1512, the College had come into actual existence. There were already installed in it a Master Canon, Chaplains and some poor scholars: Regents and other students were yet to be appointed.<sup>1</sup> The presence of the Chaplains from the outset is not difficult to explain. An Altar of St. John the Evangelist and Mary Magdalene was founded in the nave of the Church in 1498: opposite and on the north side stood an Altar of the Virgin which probably existed before the days of the College.<sup>2</sup> It will be observed that the first scheme we have provides for a Master Canon, four Chaplains to celebrate "for the souls of the founders of old and of new," two of them acting as Regents and one of them having the cure of souls.<sup>3</sup> Teaching chaplaincies were not uncommon. We find, for instance, in the "Formulare"<sup>4</sup> the case of a chaplain in a parish church who is to hold a "public song-school" and instruct scholars in the Gregorian chant, the organ and the Discant. It has been said that Hepburn was thinking chiefly of his own House: this initial scheme

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<sup>1</sup> Stuart's Charter.

<sup>2</sup> Altarages.

<sup>3</sup> Stuart's Charter.

<sup>4</sup> 142.

as explained in our first document gives us strong justification for the additional conclusion that the observance of divine service and training in the ritual of the Church were to be fundamental. In endowing education he was giving play to a force which, in the language of historians, he was powerless to control.

But while we can observe here a very natural continuity between the old foundation and the new it should not fail to be noted that the previous history of the Hospital and the Church produced a situation of some complication. It seems to have been characteristic of hospitals belonging to the Orders of Regular Clergy that they had priests to minister the sacraments and perform pastoral offices : in other cases the cure of souls belonged normally to the rector of the parish within which an hospital lay.<sup>1</sup> As has been suggested in the present instance, the territorial connections of St. Leonard's Hospital had given its Church a parochial character which became all the more prominent with the decline of the Hospital itself. In creating the College, therefore, Hepburn almost inevitably provided that one person should have the cure of souls. Moreover, in endowing Regent Chaplains he was creating offices which were from the first comprehended by the Charter of erection and, as it were, incorporate in the College. But the chaplaincies and their holders already in existence had to stand : the rights were vested in the possessors : the endowments could not, according to Canon Law, be diverted ;<sup>2</sup> nor were the souls of the founders, in the phrase of Andrew Forman, to " be

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<sup>1</sup> Van Espen, *Oper.*, i., part ii., 37, 4, 36 and 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ii., *Suppl. in Corpus*, v., 6.



defrauded of their due".<sup>1</sup> It was partly, no doubt, just because there were Chaplains in the Church incompetent to teach that Hepburn in 1512 suggested only two Regents in his first scheme.<sup>2</sup> That the situation which he accepted raised practical difficulties is proved by the fact that his nephew, Prior Patrick, took upon himself in 1537 to incorporate one of these non-collegiate altarages which happened to be held at the time by a Regent, Master Gavin Logie.<sup>3</sup> But as the exercise of these chaplaincies seems to have some bearing upon the Confirmation of Cardinal Beaton in 1545 further discussion may be postponed.

Some facts may be added here, nevertheless, in regard to the College official who had the cure of souls and upon whom devolved parochial duties. It cannot be affirmed with certainty that the Principal never exercised these, though they were incumbent on a chaplain at the first foundation ;<sup>4</sup> nor can we be assured that the person who had charge of the "parochiani" was at the beginning a less considerable figure in the College than he afterwards came to be. The "Curatus et Sacrista"—this was his official designation—eventually took rank after the Principal and before the "Provisor et rerum temporalium Procurator". The charters and documents referring to the early years of the College are unfortunately very few ; but when they become more numerous they support that conclusion. We

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<sup>1</sup> *Stat. Eccl. Scot.*, i., 282.      <sup>2</sup> Stuart's Charter.

<sup>3</sup> College Documents. Clearly his object was to retain for a Regent, now that Logie had retired, what had become in practice part of the emoluments of a regency.

<sup>4</sup> We are not informed regarding the position of the Master of the Hospital in this matter.

know also that Master Thomas Fyffe, who became "Curatus" probably about 1525, possibly earlier, and who still held the position in 1544, began as a Regent<sup>1</sup> and apparently—for he ceases to appear in the records of the Arts Faculty as a "temptator"—relinquished his regency for what was a more lucrative and dignified place. The Statutes, which we have as revised in 1544, do not throw much light on the history of the office. The "Curatus et Sacrista" comes next in order to the Principal in the enumeration of the staff:<sup>2</sup> in another passage he is styled "Sacrista principalis," a priest of ripe years and devout withal who shall have the cure of the Church and the parishioners.<sup>3</sup> It is true that he is to receive no more than a Regent.<sup>4</sup> But Master Fyffe was comfortably endowed. In 1525 Master Gavin Logie was to be entrusted with a sum to invest for a "Chaplain Curate," and the first beneficiary was to be Master Thomas Fyffe: there are records, too, of other annual emoluments which came to him. One feature of this transaction is that the additional endowment was not incorporate: the life-interest was with certain limitations secured to the holder even though he should demit office in the College.<sup>5</sup> Not until 1562 did John Fyffe, who was then "Curatus" and who had been in all likelihood an eligible relative of Master Thomas, relinquish the Altarage for incorporation, reserving the life-rent for himself.<sup>6</sup> Master John in 1550 was not very willing to take his masses and he had to be directed to

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<sup>1</sup> *Act. Fac. Art.*      <sup>2</sup> Stat., cap. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, cap. 3. : this passage is probably an addition.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, cap. 4.      <sup>5</sup> College Documents (Altarages).      <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

occupy "the chamber by the front gate" that he might be able "to hear the parishioners calling for the administration of the sacraments".<sup>1</sup> It need not be pointed out that such an additional endowment, and others held in the form of chaplaincies by officials of the College, must have aggravated in a serious degree the difficulty which the authorities found in maintaining discipline as the Reformation became imminent. Considerations of this kind bring us within sight of Cardinal Beaton's Confirmation in 1545; but it will be necessary before considering it to make some reference to the Statutes of the College, which have been repeatedly quoted.

The copy which has come down to us does not present these ordinances in their original form. They were revised in 1544, at a time when a serious effort was being made to tighten the bonds of discipline and secure greater conformity to the intentions of the founder. When we find it stated in the solemn confirmation signed by the Commendator and the Administrator that the revision has been of the nature of elucidation we cannot be certain to what extent alterations have been made upon Hepburn's version. At the end of one or two chapters—and it is to the end that one would naturally look for additions—there are provisions which may be "elucidations," but elucidations in the light of experience. Moreover some slight inconsistencies and repetitions as well as the use of a phrase which refers to a step taken in 1537 make it appear that the revisers had attempted to bring the document up to date. In 1512 the Archbishop reserved

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<sup>1</sup> Visitation of 1550.



the right of authorising alterations in the foundation should Hepburn see fit to suggest them. We have no record of any change during the decade which yet remained to the Prior after the creation of the College, but it is more than likely that the copy which was in the hands of the revisers was itself a revision, for in 1522, towards the close of his career, the Prior made additional grants, whether to augment the foundation or keep its revenue up to a normal level we cannot be certain, though the pious wish that God might grant more ample means had been expressed at the outset.<sup>1</sup> In August, 1512, statutes are spoken of as already in existence,<sup>2</sup> but these must have become in many points inapplicable to the foundation even during Hepburn's lifetime.

It is when we come to consider the early history of education in the College that the uncertainty of our information becomes tantalising. The scheme of 1512 was ample in its provision for students: in that respect the College might well deserve to be called "principale Sanctiandree collegium". It was not so satisfactory in respect of a teaching staff. By 1544, however, and probably for some considerable time before that date, the Regents were normally four in number. The circumstances which led to this increase are not recorded, but there is some ground for the view that the relations of the College to the Faculty of Arts must have had not a little to do with it. In the first place it

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<sup>1</sup> Stuart's Charter. The additional grants were: the great teinds of Rathelpie, Peikie Mill and mill lands (six acres) and the great teinds of the mill lands and of the village of Peikie.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

is clear from the Minutes of the Faculty that at this period, and in spite of the collegiate system, it claimed to direct the conduct of the Regents in the University as regards details which at St. Leonards were under the superintendence of the Principal and ultimately of the Prior. For instance, in 1514 Regents are advised to be more careful in visiting students' rooms each night: they are to insist on "reparationes" or repetitions, following the Paris custom: they are to receive annually a fee of ten shillings from each student. In 1516 a board of Examiners was appointed consisting of the Dean of Faculty and four Regents, two from St. Salvators and two from the Pædagogium, to test the fitness of students for promotion to higher studies. During these few years the scholars of St Leonard's College were being examined for degrees by boards on which they had no representatives; and when we hear of "scismata et discordiae inter loca" in connection with the confirmation of Bachelors<sup>1</sup> we may assume that our College was involved.<sup>2</sup> In 1519 for the first time we have a list of St. Leonards men in the University Register<sup>3</sup>; and it was in that year that Master Gavin Logie put forward the claims of the College, in which he was now a Regent, to have representatives among the examiners for degrees.<sup>4</sup> Without raising the very difficult question of the relations between the Colleges and the Faculty of Arts or assuming that Hepburn

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<sup>1</sup> *Act. Fac. Art.*

<sup>2</sup> The Regents of St. Salvators are to be bound by the Statutes of the Faculty (*Evidence*, iii., 271 [1458]).

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Maitland Anderson for drawing attention to this fact.

<sup>4</sup> *Act. Fac. Art.*

contemplated a direct attack on the position and powers of the latter body, it is easy to imagine the controversy to which the special characteristics of St. Leonards would give rise.<sup>1</sup> Probably it became necessary to bring up the number of Regents to four in order that each "class" or year in the normal course for the Master's degree might have its own teacher. To secure this some re-adjustment in the allocation of funds would have to be made.

But this consideration is not sufficient to explain the striking disparity between the number of students to be endowed by the first scheme and the number of bursars in 1544. The revised Statutes do not venture to name a precise figure because the resources of the College are variable: "students"—a term which must here be equivalent to "students on the foundation"—are to be "in the teens" (in numero denario) as is now the case.<sup>2</sup> In 1588 we are told that "they interteny 13 Bursaries, and tua ma".<sup>3</sup> What then is to be made of the original scheme, which contemplated no fewer than twenty-six scholars—twenty in Arts and six in Theology?

It may be inferred from the documents relating to chaplaincies that about £10 Scots was the annual sum required for endowment. In Cardinal Beaton's time a "curate" serving under a rector or vicar was entitled

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<sup>1</sup> It should also be remarked that the relations between Hepburn and Forman after their contention for the See of St. Andrews would not make matters easier for the Prior's College.

<sup>2</sup> Stat., cap. 5, *ad fin.*; and this though one or two gifts for bursars had been made since the founder's day.

<sup>3</sup> *Evidence*, iii., 195.



to this remuneration<sup>1</sup>; and it was the sum necessary to maintain a poor scholar at St. Leonards. The cost of boarding twenty-six students would have been about equivalent to the sum required in 1544 to pay and maintain the Principal, two Priests, four Regents and thirteen Bursars. If we suppose that Hepburn did not find himself in a position to be so generous as he had at first intended, we must at the same time look to the increase in the College staff for a partial explanation of the comparatively small number of scholars now entertained. Doubtless a third factor was that uncertainty in the revenue from land of which St. Leonards frequently complained,<sup>2</sup> and which was aggravated sometimes by the negligence or impotence of the Provisor.<sup>3</sup>

Another difficulty arises in the same connection. It is not definitely stated in the Statutes that the Priests and Regents are to read Theology; but we learn that the Principal will lecture on that subject for their benefit on Wednesdays and Fridays,<sup>4</sup> and it is certain that Regents like Gavin Logie and David Guild prosecuted the study. For St. Salvators in 1458 it was provided that the Masters of Arts, some of whom were to act as Regents, should not be maintained after they became Bachelors in Theology. They were not to develop into a permanent staff teaching the Arts and the reward of their labours was perhaps by

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<sup>1</sup> *Formulare*: quoted in *Stat. Eccl. Scot.*, i., 290.

<sup>2</sup> *Evidence*, iii., 201; *Stat.*, cap. 5, *ad fin.*

<sup>3</sup> See especially the Visitation of 1550.

<sup>4</sup> *Stat.*, cap. 5: see also the Visitation of 1550 for an effort to promote theological teaching.

design paltry.<sup>1</sup> At King's College, Aberdeen, in 1505 Regents were also required to proceed to graduation in the higher Faculty.<sup>2</sup> When we look to St. Andrews again, in the middle of the century, we gather from the statutes of St. Marys that a more definite distinction was drawn between Regents in Arts and students of Theology. The former indeed had only a limited tenure of office, but provision was made for renewal when it was desirable.<sup>3</sup> Hepburn's six students of Theology, if they were ever appointed and so far as they were not Regents, had completely disappeared from the Statutes by 1544. Some of the Regents no doubt prosecuted higher studies—and if we may accept the numbers given by the University Matriculation Register there were years in which they would have leisure for them—but in spite of the periodical introduction of new blood<sup>4</sup> there was a tendency for the men whose emoluments were increased by the holding of chaplaincies to become fixtures in the College.<sup>5</sup> Whether Hepburn looked forward to using his theological students to give tuition in Arts it is impossible to say; but the rapidity with which St. Leonards acquired the character of a College specially devoted to Arts teaching is a feature in its history which should not pass unnoticed.

It is not easy to gain a clear view of the various classes of students who belonged to the College; yet

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<sup>1</sup> *Evidence*, iii., 271.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, iv., 136.    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, iii., 363.

<sup>4</sup> The Statutes (cap. 5) provide that a Regent leaving the College should give three months notice except when a "notabile commodum" offers.

<sup>5</sup> This tendency is apparent in the two other Houses.

we have a certain amount of evidence which it may be well to set in order here. First of all the Statutes in a passage which we may confidently assume to be original<sup>1</sup> contemplate the admission of "sons of the nobility or others," who will be bound to observe the ordinances of the place. The next sentence, though ambiguous, seems to imply that *some* of these may elect to be "commensales"—a word here used apparently in its strict etymological sense. This interpretation is supported by the concluding sentence of the chapter, which refers to "nobles and ecclesiastics" electing to participate in the life of the College "at table or otherwise howsoever". It has been suggested already that the "viri ecclesiastici" are perhaps to be connected with efforts to bring members of Religious Houses to the University. On common days both the "commensales" and the foundationers must be present in the morning at six o'clock Mass: the former are excused from Vespers but are required to be present again at Salve after supper.<sup>2</sup> At dinner and supper a foundationer will be bound to take the reading at the beginning of the meal, a "commensalis" at the end.<sup>3</sup> Another class of student is referred to in the regulation about the keeping of the gate,<sup>4</sup> for this office is to devolve upon one "de gremio loci" who is not necessarily "caputiatus" but possibly an "operarius" and in that case bound to do some menial service for the foundationers at table.<sup>5</sup> We cannot be certain whether "lixa

<sup>1</sup> Cap. 6, *ad init.*    <sup>2</sup> Cap. 7.    <sup>3</sup> Cap. 3.    <sup>4</sup> Cap. 4, *ad init.*

<sup>5</sup> By 1544 there seems to have been a servant to keep the gate (see Visitation of that year): we must suppose that the janitor was in practice invariably an "operarius" who enjoyed some educational advantages.



Layng" who had to clean the hall daily in 1545 was of this class:<sup>1</sup> the threat of expulsion for neglect of duty would seem to imply that he was.

Some additional information may be gleaned from the four Visitations preserved in the Chartulary. The distinction between foundationers and other persons connected with the College in respect of routine duties has been referred to above and will become more clear to a reader of the Statutes. This difference, which reinforces the conclusions already adopted as to the original aims of the foundation, is strongly marked in the suggestions of the Visitors, so strongly as to justify the assertion that the bursars are still, in the middle of the century, treated by the authorities of the Monastery as their novices, to be secluded from disturbing influences. In composing his Statutes Hepburn was prepared to admit others to his College in the belief that they might be moulded according to rule and that they would seek "the kingdom of God and his righteousness" in the monastic sense: now a vain effort was being made to prevent the "caputiati" from getting out of hand under external and secular influences. The Visitors of 1544 and 1545 find it necessary to direct that they be placed "by themselves in the lower part of the house". From an expression in the Statutes<sup>2</sup> we may gather that their "cells" or "studies" were on the south side of the house and that if there was not room for all, the holders of "close" bursaries, as we may call them, who seem to have been placed generally on a level with

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<sup>1</sup> See Visitation of 1545; and *cf.* Visitation of 1550 *ad fin.*

<sup>2</sup> Cap. 1, *ad fin.*; see note to Latin text.

Hepburn's scholars, had to give place. The "outer studies" were left chiefly for "commensales" and others;<sup>1</sup> but these were sometimes not sufficient to accommodate all the students, as may be gathered from the rule of 1544 that those who had studies must sleep in College.<sup>2</sup> The University of St. Andrews had to face the difficulty which seems to have been invariably connected with the collegiate system—the tendency of students to pass from one place to another. The astounding variations in the numbers given by the Matriculation Register for this period, while they are no doubt partially accounted for by the disturbed condition of the times, must have been due also to the whims of students who were more or less their own masters and who relied upon a welcome from some Regent. This supposition indeed serves most naturally to explain a passage in the Visitation of 1545 where it is stated that the "outer studies" are going to ruin owing to the frequent changes of occupation by "commensales" and others;<sup>3</sup> and in 1550 there is an implied distinction between people who join the College for a short time and those who are received "for a long period," bitter experience probably calling for the regu-

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<sup>1</sup> Visitation of 1545.

<sup>2</sup> Visitation: *cf.* the complaint (about 1616; *Evidence*, iii., 201) that St. Leonards cannot accommodate its scholars and is compelled "to pay meal for chambers in the towne": so far are they from being able to complete "the south syde of the close" that they cannot even maintain the old buildings in proper condition.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf.* the Edict of 1464 relating to Navarre College at Paris (quoted by Rashdall, i., 500 n.): the number of non-bursars "confusionem parit et magna affert incommoda usque etiam ad destructionem morum scientiae et aedificiorum".

lation that the latter should pay a quarter in advance. It was not necessary that a "commensalis" should take his meals in hall so far as discipline was concerned. He might be absent if he liked, but he had to pay for his food unless he were away fifteen days in succession, in which case he might claim a remission.<sup>1</sup>

In the first years of the University at St. Andrews there was a class of "extra commensales" expressly identified by the Faculty of Arts with the "Martineti," who at Paris lodged in the city and not in College. They comprised poor students and the sons of citizens of St. Andrews.<sup>2</sup> The growth of College teaching at the great Mother University in the fifteenth century, which the new statutes for Montaigu College in 1502 indicate to have been completed,<sup>3</sup> had no doubt much to do with a similar development at St. Andrews. Just as the old Schools of the Vicus Stramineus were scarcely visited by students except on occasion of formal acts, so the students of St. Leonards went in a body to the Pædagogium—the old centre of teaching—for purposes of examination.<sup>4</sup> Actual residence in College was required at Paris by 1463,<sup>5</sup> and repeated efforts were made, there as at Oxford and in the Universities of Germany, to kill out the day-boarder.<sup>6</sup> It is extremely interesting to observe in view of the non-residential character afterwards assumed by the Scottish Universities that at St. Andrews, where collegiate life was

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<sup>1</sup> Visitation (1550).      <sup>2</sup> *Act. Fac. Art.*, 1414.

<sup>3</sup> Félibien, *Hist. d. l. Ville d. Paris*, v., 727.      <sup>4</sup> *Stat.*, cap. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Rashdall, i., 506: it is worth while noting that students in the houses of relatives are excepted.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*



aimed at from the first, and in St. Leonards, which its very origin and purpose should have determined as peculiarly collegiate, the term "commensalis" seems to have been applicable to non-foundationers some of whom slept out of College, and that a class of students even less closely in touch than they with collegiate life was contemplated and provided for by statute. After the Reformation we come upon very definite evidence of departure from the monastic conception of College life. In a document of 1579 under the hand of King James VI. there occurs an important paragraph: "That a commoun table be kepit and that all foundit personis leif collegialiter We like; bot the incertantie of the forme heirtofoir useit we can not allow sen it has maid sum of the Collegeis sa fer confusit and super expedit already: thairfore lett the hous in everie College be halden as all wer burdouris and yit on diverse prices for sindrie degreis of personis,<sup>1</sup> and lett the buirdis in all Collegeis be alike *pro rata*: gif the burde be les nor the sowme contenit in the fundatioun, the foundit persoun will have the mair advantage: gif the burde be mair throw occasioun of derth he mon upsett it with supplie of freindis for that yeir or yeild the rowme to ane that will do it, sen it is certane that the present rent of the College may beare na further and to superexpend the Collegeis is the wrak and subversioun thairof."<sup>2</sup>

It remains to indicate, if possible, the causes which

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<sup>1</sup>The College minute of 1740 printed in the Appendix distinguishes boarders of the wealthier class, bursars, and portioners, the last mentioned having smaller rations than the bursars.

<sup>2</sup>*Evidence*, iii., 190.

elicited Apostolic Confirmation from Cardinal Beaton in 1545. The document which he granted does not by any means carry its own explanation. As to the circumstances which led up to this act we are entirely in the dark so far as express external testimony is concerned, and we are thrown back upon what may be discovered from the Confirmation itself read in the light of the history of the College since its foundation—a history based on information derived incidentally from scattered documents.

In 1536 a certain Peter Sandelandis<sup>1</sup> founded a close bursary for a poor student. The opening words of his charter deserve quotation at the risk of irrelevance, for his affection towards John Hepburn raises the language above the pedestrian level. "Suadet inprimis," he writes, "proprie salutis cura deinde studiose juventutis amor que si bonis instituatur locis reipublice et honestatis et utilitatis non parum est allatura postremo que ex animo nunquam discedit meo reverendi in Christo patris Johannis Hepburn . . . memoria cui secundum deum quicquid in humanis mihi datum est acceptum uni fero." But the strong guiding hand was now gone. It seemed that the study of letters as conceived by the founder was to fail and the College haply to become extinct.<sup>2</sup> Should this be the issue (which heaven forbid) the gift was to pass to St. Salvators. Nor was the latter in any ignorance of the conditions, for it was called upon to append its seal to the charter. We have no record of positive action taken against St. Leonards ;

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<sup>1</sup> See index to Major's *Greater Britain* (Scot. Hist. Soc.).

<sup>2</sup> The Matriculation Register gives only two names under this year.

but we can see at least one motive for the re-enactment of the Statutes in 1544 and for the desire that in their somewhat altered form they should be recognised by the highest ecclesiastical authority and made binding.

This document, read in connection with the solemn undertaking by the senior members of the College to observe the revised Statutes, seems to indicate that the disorganisation was within the staff itself. The character of the foundation and the visitatorial powers of the Prior and Chapter made it inevitable that efficiency should depend very much upon those who exercised authority in the Monastery for the time, a fact which may be illustrated from the administration of the College property. The method of that administration deserves some attention also because it has its own bearing on Beaton's Charter. There are, indeed, two salient features in the history of the foundation as the Reformation drew on. We have a monastic institution drifting away from monastic ideals. Just in proportion as that was the case and so far as the waning power of the Church did not give place to mere disorder, the College sought to manage its own affairs and pursue its own ends: it was less ready to submit to dictation from without, and if the external control were at any time feeble it exercised a *de facto* autonomy which was never contemplated and which was not conceived as belonging to it *de jure*. But there was also a strife within between the new and the old which inevitably produced dislocation: the practical question was as to what should be done in view of the fact that the College in exercising a greater degree of autonomy could not determine for itself a clear and intelligible end acceptable by the great majority.



The Prior and Chapter had administered the Hospital funds at discretion and the property was vested in them. When the College was infest by Hepburn in the properties denominated in his Charter of endowment<sup>1</sup> and the transaction had been confirmed by royal authority, we might expect to find it exercising at least the power of granting tacks of its lands. But the absence of Papal confirmation seems to have involved this disability that the College was not in the position of a "Collegium" in the eye of the Canon Law and could not exercise that right of meeting "chapterly" which would have brought it into line with what was regarded as the type of a corporate society. Though it had a seal and a chest,<sup>2</sup> characteristic privileges of a collegiate body, it does not seem that it was allowed to administer that portion of the property which consisted of Prior's lands. If we may draw any conclusion from the few documents relating to this period, the normal course was for the Prior (or Administrator) and Chapter to act, appending the Chapter Seal, while the College Seal was added in token of consent. Among the Charters copied into the Chartulary the earliest belongs to 1528; and there are exceedingly few anterior to 1544. The extraordinary disorder of the book as we have it, complicated no doubt by the fact that it had at one time to be re-bound, offers unlimited scope for the ingenious critic; but it seems probable that the

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<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable that no Instrument of Seisin is preserved though we have the Precept.

<sup>2</sup> Visitations (1544-45): it had used the seal for years, if not from the first.

College did not begin to keep a formal record of transactions till somewhere about 1540 or even later.

As the senior members did not form a chapter they could not enjoy administrative rights. Just as little in strict law, or even less, could the Principal administer; for, being a Canon without specially delegated powers in this respect,<sup>1</sup> he would be passing from the domain of "communitas," which was in theory fundamental, to that of "proprietas". Yet the College had an official, the Procurator, whose definite duty it was to supervise temporal affairs. No doubt his sphere of action was conceived as limited mainly to the gathering of rents: in the Visitations he is treated as responsible to the Monastery and he has no key of the College chest, access to which belongs to the Principal and the Curatus. Illustrations of the very ill-defined position occupied by the foundation might be multiplied—and even after Beaton's Charter many curious anomalies survive—but enough has been said to indicate that in this period, amid many conditions of actual corporate life, corporate ambitions and even corporate acts might naturally be expected.

Among the "Letters of the Scottish Kings" there is an appeal from James V. to the Pope in 1540 regarding the action of Myln, who had been Administrator of the Priory since 1538. It was the established custom, the King alleges, for Prelates to give tacks of their tithes and possessions for nineteen years. Myln, "ad vivum omnia nimis resecans," refused on the ground of his position in law to grant assedations for a period exceeding his own tenure and there had

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<sup>1</sup> See Hepburn's Charter.

been complaints of his precision.<sup>1</sup> It is not improbable that during Myln's time the College began to find it very inconvenient to be under the control of a man who could have had little time to spare for St. Andrews; and if he were absent there was in the Subprior, Wynram, a person they might perhaps venture to neglect. At all events in 1545 we find John Anand, the Principal, and the senior members of the College granting eight leases without reference to the Monastery.<sup>2</sup> But if we are not in a position to explain the variations of procedure of which we have the traces and which may be partly due to opportunism, it is clear that the Apostolic Confirmation marked an epoch in the development towards a full collegiate status. In 1546, the year after Beaton's Charter was granted, the College speaks of itself for the first time as "chapterly convened,"<sup>3</sup> and henceforth its seal was appended to charters before that of the Chapter which is hung second in token of assent on the part of the "patrons and superiors."<sup>4</sup> So far then the Apostolic Confirmation rather legalised than created a status and introduced some system into the methods of procedure. The desire of the College to have more initiative in the administration of its property was doubtless one of the motives which prompted the petition to the Cardinal.<sup>5</sup>

But there was one set of transactions<sup>6</sup> which we

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<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Reg. Scot.*, ii., 72.

<sup>2</sup> These tacks were for five years: in almost all the great teinds were included: £16 10s. Scots were taken in grassums.

<sup>3</sup> College Documents (Pittances, 105).

<sup>4</sup> Chartulary (*passim*) up to the early years of the seventeenth century and the limit of the collection.

<sup>5</sup> Beaton's Charter.      <sup>6</sup> College Documents (Lathocar).



may fairly suppose made Beaton's intervention very desirable. Between 1522 and 1526, on three separate occasions, the Master and Regents having some surplus funds on hand graciously accommodated Mr. John Weems of Lathocar in his hour of need for an annual payment from his lands, and this they did so far as we know on their own responsibility. When in 1557 the Weems estate was ready for an additional loan it had to be confirmed by the Archbishop, who reserved the "burdens and services" formerly due to him in respect of this annual rent. Now it is clear from a note on the back of the charter of 1526, written by the scribe of the Consistorial Court in April, 1545, that Mr. Alexander Weems was making difficulties about payment, that the matter had a hearing, and that the case was recorded in the Register of the Official Principal. In view of the Archbishop's confirmation of a similar transaction in 1557 and the legal incapacity of the College for corporate action, it is not improbable that Mr. Weems pled a defective title on the part of the pursuers and that this defect required a document from the Cardinal. It is true that Mr. Weems had received warning to pay arrears; but such difficulties must not occur again, and there had been other dealings of the kind.<sup>1</sup> Whether the intercessions of the youthful and somewhat unworthy James Leirmonth, Provost of Kirkheugh, whereat Beaton professed himself to have been so much moved,<sup>2</sup> had anything to do with the bonds on Lambyletham, of which he was superior, it is impossible to say.

But the most salient feature of Cardinal Beaton's

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<sup>1</sup> College Documents (Lambyletham).

<sup>2</sup> Beaton's Charter.

document, apart from the grant of chapter rights, is the force of ecclesiastical censure now brought to bear upon the College. The main object is not conservatorial but disciplinary: the Cardinal's delegates are not styled "conservatores" but "judices". The bombastic introduction, which had served for other cases and did duty again, is interrupted by a clumsy parenthesis referring to "divine worship" for the salvation of the souls of founders; and later on, in the mandate to the delegates to apply ecclesiastical suasion, the prolixity of a fixed style is awkwardly broken by the mention of persons not obeying the Principal or disregarding the directions of the annual Visitors from the Monastery. Here at any rate we are upon firm ground.

In making provision for discipline at St. Salvators, Kennedy had the Provost invested with powers of ecclesiastical censure which were to be exercised however only after a sort of "domesticum consilium" consisting of all persons in the College not suspect.<sup>1</sup> But St. Leonards was in a different position. Normally the "jurisdictio correctionalis" of a Chapter was limited to matters of canonical discipline and to what are called "defectus leviores": serious offences came under the cognisance of the Ordinary. Hence the penalties at their disposal were also comparatively light and might be such as deprivation of the usual distributions or of the vote in congregation.<sup>2</sup> The members of St. Leonards were to obey the Principal and submit to his correction: <sup>3</sup> delinquents were in the last resort subjected to expul-

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<sup>1</sup> *Evidence*, iii., 272-73.

<sup>2</sup> Van Espen, *Supplementum*, i., tit. II (*Opera*, ii.).

<sup>3</sup> *Stat.*, cap. 5.

sion at the fiat of the authorities in the Monastery. The state of discipline from time to time would depend very much on the character of the Principal and the firmness of these dignitaries. Under Patrick Hepburn's régime the College had proved unfaithful, if we believe Master Peter Sandelandis, to the intentions of the founder. No doubt the evils which alarmed the good rector of Calder had been brought about in large measure by the influence of such men as Gavin Logie and involved some considerable inattention to ritual observance. But it is not likely that Prior Patrick gave much heed to the matter. After his departure the supervision must have been with John Wynram the Subprior. The preoccupations of the Administrator, Alexander Myln, made this inevitable, and we know that the Subprior took a very genuine interest in the reform of the College, though people did not pay much regard to his directions except in a sanitary matter which may have appealed to them as deserving attention.<sup>1</sup> The historian would give not a little to have a clear glimpse into this mind, devoted to the pursuit of impossible compromises and singularly deficient in Latinity.<sup>2</sup> Whether or not Wynram expected men to keep up old forms which had lost all meaning or which were actually abhorrent to them, he seems to have been active in attempting to procure in 1544 the revision of the Statutes, which were to be subscribed in solemn contract by the staff of the College and the

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<sup>1</sup> See Visitations of 1544 and 1545.

<sup>2</sup> No person with the faintest pretensions to scholarship would have tolerated the appalling Latin of the Visitations of 1544 and 1545: it would be unfair to accuse Wynram of their composition whatever be our suspicions.



authorities of the Monastery. No doubt Myln had insisted that steps should be taken and had applied the necessary stimulus to the Subprior. The fact that Wynram's name heads the signatures on the part of the College<sup>1</sup> is not without meaning.

What bearing the presence of John Annand as Principal in 1544 had upon the situation cannot be determined. He was without doubt a reactionary or as Knox described him, speaking with more precision, a "rottin Papist". The Visitors of 1544 led by Wynram had to draw attention to certain matters of duty he had neglected—a proceeding which so distinguished a champion of the faith may or may not have liked. But there is a fair presumption that when the College appealed to Beaton in 1545 for Apostolic Confirmation on grounds already examined Master Annand saw an opportunity of bringing more stringent pressure to bear upon his staff than could be exerted by the Monastery for the execution of what seemed to him a weighty matter, the saying of masses for the souls of founders. A grant of chapter rights would bring the College directly in contact with Beaton's authority, though it would at the same time, in strict law, reduce the power of control exercised by the Monastery. Probably Annand was made Principal in order to tighten the bonds of discipline and very possibly by the directions of Alexander Myln. At the end of the copy of the revised Statutes in the Chartulary there is a faint inscription in Latin to the effect that on the vigil of St. Martin, 1544, the "portio" of the Principal<sup>2</sup> was received in the College "to the glory of God".

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<sup>1</sup> Statutes, *ad fin.*

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, what was owing to him as a Canon.

The evident satisfaction of the scribe raises a suspicion that Wynram and the Principal did not see eye to eye and that the latter was perhaps on his part not quite satisfied with the amount of support which the Visitors or the Chapter were giving him. Thus while it is conceivable that Wynram approved the plan of an appeal to Beaton—for the neglect of masses by the chaplains is referred to in the Visitations of 1544 and 1545—it is on the whole more likely that he was not consulted. James Leirmonth, Provost of Kirkheugh, a half educated<sup>1</sup> and prematurely dignified person whose subsequent history does not suggest admirable beginnings,<sup>2</sup> was the man chosen to stir the Cardinal's compassion on this behalf.

It is necessary at this point to draw renewed attention to the character of the chaplaincies in the College or, more strictly, in the Church of the College. The remaining documents which refer to Altarages are few: hence we are unable to determine the precise extent to which the system of personal endowment was carried; but we can gain some conception of the way in which it loosened the bonds of discipline.

In 1537 Gavin Logie held the Altarage founded by David and Walter Monypeny in 1498. It had probably been given to him by the Prior and Convent who are named in the original charter as patrons after David Monypeny the younger of Kinkell. When Logie's health failed and he could no longer discharge his duties,<sup>3</sup> the question was actually discussed as to

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<sup>1</sup> He was Bachelor in Arts: see Beaton's Charter.

<sup>2</sup> See *Register of Kirk Session of St. Andrews* (Index).

<sup>3</sup> This is the account given in Patrick Hepburn's document.

whether he might still enjoy the emoluments in spite of the precise condition appended by the founders that residence should be required and that the endowment must not be annexed "to another place". The raising of this question at all throws an interesting light upon the current conception of such endowments as a personal possession of the holder rather than a remuneration for the discharge of a trust.<sup>1</sup> Prior Patrick Hepburn having obtained the necessary resignation of Logie incorporated the Altarage with the College so that it should in future be held by a Regent making personal residence. For a year and a half it was held by George Logie, a junior Regent, temporarily it would appear and perhaps in the interest of Gavin, till in 1539 Wynram, who in this transaction acted as head of the Chapter, installed Master John Scheill, a Regent of St. Salvators for some time past and now attracted by the more lucrative post. This incident affords a striking confirmation of our conclusions regarding the normal administrative methods of this period. Though the Altarage had been incorporated in the College it is not at its disposal, and this in spite of the fact that the incorporating document made the holder answerable to the Principal, entrusted the evidents to his care, and charged the College with the defence of the property. In 1551 Master Scheill would neither say Mass at his Altar nor attend to his students: all the Visitors could do was to exhort him

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<sup>1</sup> There was in Canon Law a class of chaplaincies styled "mercenariae" where the tenure was insecure: *v.* Ferraris, *Bibliotheca Canonica*, CAPELLANIA.



and await with patience the appearance of the young Commendator from the Continent.<sup>1</sup>

Again, in 1525, John Archibald<sup>2</sup> founded an Altarage for his brother who was apparently never a Regent. In 1551 he also was told to perform his duties. To make confusion worse confounded, the patronage of this office lay with the Principal of the College<sup>3</sup>; but the holder actually owed the College an annual payment from the rents which made up his salary.

Then there was Master Thomas Fyffe's<sup>4</sup> endowment derived from the same generous donor. Here the "High Altar" was sharply distinguished as the Altar of the College Church from the Altar of the Virgin in the nave. The provisions of Archibald's charter are curious. The gift was to take effect at the granter's death<sup>5</sup>: his "very dear friend" Gavin Logie undertook to act as trustee: Fyffe was to be the first beneficiary and would continue to enjoy the emoluments even though he should be transferred "to another place or to another benefice worth less than forty pounds": after Fyffe's death or resignation the presentation and also the power of deprivation lay with the Principal of the College. Most curious of all is the stipulation that the holder should serve at the High Altar and say Mass "hebdomadarie," provided that the College gave him "bed and board": if the College does not do so he is to serve at the Altar of the Virgin,

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<sup>1</sup> Visitation of 1551—where the Altar is wrongly named: Instrument regarding Scheill among College Documents.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix on the monuments in the Church.

<sup>3</sup> College Documents (Altarages). <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Logie had just invested the £200 in 1535, ten years after (Altarages).

“and so he will not be bound to fulfil the cure and office of Curate and the other burdens of the said College”. Finally, in 1562, Master John Fyffe resigned the benefice to the Prior and Convent for incorporation in the College, reserving his own life interest.<sup>1</sup>

We know also that in 1550 James Wilkie came into possession of an Altarage in the Trinity Church,<sup>2</sup> and that he resigned it for the College under the instrument which also dealt with Fyffe’s curacy. It is unfortunate that we have no evidence to show whether this was the first instance of such extraneous connections. There is another isolated paper among the College documents relating to an Altarage at St. Salvators<sup>3</sup>: how it came there would be a matter for pure conjecture.

A reader of the Statutes will be struck by the fact that there is little reference to the Altarages. Some offices will be “better paid” (*potiora*) than others on account of them, and the Principal is to see that the most deserving men get these positions.<sup>4</sup> This would imply that the Altarages were in practice at the disposal of the head of the College when a vacancy occurred, though we find in the case of Scheill that Wynram and the Chapter confer the office. This particular Altarage had been incorporated in the College, and as it must

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<sup>1</sup> Altarages.

<sup>2</sup> The document is lost but is mentioned in a catalogue.

<sup>3</sup> Altarages.

<sup>4</sup> Stat., cap. 5. The cynic will note that this passage has been pointed to by many fingers and that, as the duties of the Principal are specified on the back of the folio and immediately behind, the vellum is worn to perforation.

necessarily go with a regency, presentation would fall under the rule that Regents were to be appointed by the Prior and the Principal.<sup>1</sup> Wynram took Scheill to the Altar and gave him seisin "per libri missalis calicis et vestimentorum traditionem". The Principal appears only as calling for a legal instrument that Scheill consented to the union or incorporation of the Altar and that he had taken his Regent's oath. It was a significant effort to secure the authority of the Principal over the new holder. If the Visitors were so helpless as we have found them when Master Scheill struck work altogether in 1551, we may imagine the state of things in cases where Altarages were not incorporate.

Nor did the Statutes lay down any rules as to the times and seasons at which Regents or Priests holding Altarages should perform their services. This is another curious fact in the situation, for there was some rule, as we may gather from the Visitations of 1544 and 1545, that those who served at altars should be present at eight o'clock in winter and seven in summer.

There is one fact about the four Visitations which will strike a careful reader. In 1544 and 1545 the directions are accompanied by no threat, except in the case of "lixa Layng," and we have already seen reason to infer that Annand at least was dissatisfied with the sanctions at his disposal. In 1550, however, the Visitors will name a punishment for neglect of duty; and in 1551 they specifically declare that fines will be exacted from members of the staff who are remiss. Reference to the mandate given by Beaton to his delegates in this part<sup>2</sup> shows that the Visitors and the

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<sup>1</sup> Stat., cap. 5.      <sup>2</sup> Beaton's Charter.



Principal are now at any rate definitely empowered to inflict fines in addition to other penalties and that the delegates are intended to see that the sanctions shall be really effective. From 1545 to 1550 there is a remarkable gap in our extant records.<sup>1</sup> We do not know whether Hepburn of Brechin, Durie of Dunfermline, and Leirmonth of Kirkheugh ever acted under the mandate; but if Beaton's death dissolved the short-lived commission, additional powers seem to have been exercised by the Visitors in terms of the Apostolic Confirmation. The imposition of fines was after all the only palliative—for it could not be a remedy—in an impossible situation.

It is here that we come upon the most fundamental point in this chaotic history. If the College had been based purely upon the communal idea of Monasticism and if this idea had been consistently and logically followed from the outset, there would have been decay, but there would not have been so much disorder. The strings of the purse would have been held by one specific administrative authority, a fact tardily and only half realised when appeal was made to the Cardinal for a rigorous and necessarily futile interference. The "vitium proprietatis" had been present in the chaplaincies from the first: pious founders in a feudal spirit had made gifts to individuals for the service of their prayers, and if the Church was not prepared or was not able to counteract the disintegrating forces the issue was not far to seek. St. Leonard's College was indeed a foundation whose corporate life grew from potency to realisation: the Cardinal's grant of chapter rights

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<sup>1</sup> *Eg.*, in the *Act. Fac. Art.* and the *Matric. Reg.*

marked an epoch in the process of cleavage which left the College a living entity while the parent Monastery verged towards extinction. Even had Beaton been spared by the fates he could have done little to remedy the astounding confusion which it has been the almost hopeless task of this introduction to disentangle. It was a strange irony that the very men who conceived that they were now making the authority of the Church effective were contributing somewhat to the corporate strength of a society which had already done not a little to exhibit the irrepressible claims of the human spirit.

CHARTER OF KING JAMES IV. CONTAINING THE  
CHARTERS OF ARCHBISHOP ALEXANDER  
STUART AND PRIOR JOHN HEPBURN.<sup>1</sup>

IACOBUS dei gracia Rex Scotorum OMNIBUS probis hominibus tocius terre sue clericis et laicis salutem SCIATIS nos illas duas cartas subscriptas unam videlicet factam per reverendissimum et venerabilem in cristo patres nostrosque consiliarios dilectos Alexandrum miseracione divina sanctiandree Archiepiscopum tocius regni scotie primatem et Apostolice sedis legatum ac monasteriorum de dunfermling et coldinghame commendatarium et Iohannem priorem ecclesie metropolitane sanctiandree et capitulum eiusdem super erectione collegii pauperum clericorum nuncupati infra civitatem sanctiandree Aliam vero factam per prefatum venerabilem patrem Iohannem priorem et conventum predictum eidem collegio ac magistris regentibus capellanis studentibus et pauperibus clericis eiusdem de certis terris molendinis decimis tenementis annuis redditibus

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<sup>1</sup> The Latin is printed here in full. It is impossible to reproduce exactly the vagaries of the scribe in his use of capital letters : he is not even arbitrary : but so far as our usage permits he has been followed. In the margin will be found the readings of the two original documents (designated A and H) which are still extant. These are very beautifully executed by the same hand. Only portions of the seals remain on the Archbishop's Charter, but his signature, "Alexander Sanctiandree Archiepūs manu propria," is still quite fresh : the handwriting is clear and strong with considerable individuality. The Chapter seal is almost intact on Hepburn's Charter. In both documents the scribe has introduced a good deal of punctuation so as to show that he did not always understand the tenor. In the Royal Charter there is practically no indication of points.



et vicarie proficuis per dictos venerabilem patrem et conventum sibi datis et concessis et per prefatum reverendissimum in christo patrem confirmatis de mandato nostro visas lectas inspectas et diligenter examinatas sanas integras non raras non cancellatas nec in aliqua sui parte suspectas ad plenum intellexisse sub hiis formis sequentibus Tenor vero prime carte ALEXANDER miseracione divina ecclesie metropolitane sanctiandree Archiepiscopus totius regni scotie primas sedis apostolice legatus natus ac monasteriorum de dunfermling et coldinghame commendatarius perpetuus Iohannes divina permissione eiusdem ecclesie prior et conventus universis Cristifidelibus presentes inspecturis salutem in domino Cum dudum divi Andree apostoli reliquias ex civitate patras sanctus Ille dei cultor regulus in sociam miraculose detulerat easque (illo a catholico rege ea tempestate reverenter et honorifice recepto) sede qua nostra metropolis est locaverat Illic postea *princeps* et alii cristiani nominis caractere insigniti quamplures diversis mediis ecclesiarum scilicet fundacionibus divinis cultibus ecclesie dignitatum monasterii moderni canonicorum regularium institutione omnipotentem coluere unde ex orbis provinciis diversis remotis satis et propinquis peregrini diversi ad ipsam sanctiandree ecclesiam miraculis excitati quibus ipse reliquie beati apostoli claruere proficiscentes devocionis zelo indies confluxere Ad quorum recepcionem priores et conventus dicte ecclesie nostre hospitale quoddam sanctiandree coniunctum ecclesie beati leonardi pia mente construxere dumque lapsu temporis in nostris partibus firmata cristi fide miracula et peregrinaciones ut credere phas est in parte cessaverant *hospitale* peregrinis desolatum esset priores prescripti certas alias mulieres ingravescenti etate constitutas in eodem imposuerant : que parum aut nichil fructus devocionis aut virtutis perfecerant Nos intendentes fluctuantem petri naviculam erigere Ecclesiam dei sub nostra saltem iurisdictione et potestate commissam a virtuosis exercitiis declinantem in melius alterare ipsum hospitale ecclesiamque sancti leonardi eidem coniunctam impensis Ecclesie sanctiandree rebusque ex prioris industria acquisitis decenti forma noviter constructas certosque magistrum canonicum capellanos scolares

A. principes.

A. hospitale.  
que.

pauperes honeste conversacionis et probitatis per nos priorem  
 et conventum electos ac inibi impositos Aliosque sacerdotes re-  
 gentes et in diversis facultatibus studentes imponendos Nedum  
 ut inibi pauperes foveantur verumeciam in *ecclesia* viri eruditi  
 doctrinis et disciplinis excellentes ad omnipotentis dei Laudem  
 populique edificacionem spiritualem multiplicentur de domini  
 nostri redemptoris Ihesu cristi Intemerate virginis marie matris  
 sue beati Andree apostoli patroni nostri gracia Sanctissimi in  
 cristo patris Leonis romani pontificis *invictissimique* et Illustris-  
 simi principis ac domini nostri metuendissimi Iacobi quarti dei  
 gracia scotorum regis autoritate assistencia et adiutorio confisi  
 deque fratrum nostrorum tocius capituli ecclesie nostre consilio  
 unanimi *consensu* in capitulo nostro deligenti tractatu maturaque  
 deliberacione prehabitis in collegium unum Collegium pauperum  
 clericorum ecclesie sanctiandree de cetero nominandum de terris  
 decimis possessionibus et redditibus partim dicte ecclesie nostre  
 et aliis ex prioris moderni industria acquisitis dotandum de  
 nostra autoritate ordinaria erigimus et creamus constitucionibus-  
 que ordinationibus et statutis inferius insertis aliisque in nostris  
 litteris patentibus particulariter contentis firmamus Primum ut  
 dei cultus partim augmentetur dum ipse deus bonorum operum  
 immediatus director de amplioribus facultatibus nobis priori et  
 conventui predictis harum onera portantibus ad infrascripta  
 augmentandum providerit in dicto collegio unum magistrum et  
 directorem principalem canonicum capituli nostri quatuor capel-  
 lanos et de illis duos regentes quotidie cum dispositi fuerint pro  
 fundatorum animabus de veteri et *de novo* divina celebrantes et  
 imperpetuum celebraturos quorum unus animarum curam *gerat*  
 viginti *scolares* omnes in grammaticalibus (et eorum aliqui ut  
 apciores fiant ad nostrum principale sanctiandree collegium  
 in divinis officiis sustentandum et decorandum in cantu saltem  
 gregoriano et si commode fieri possit eciam in discantu) suffi-  
 enter imbutos ad ceteras artes liberales capescendas Et sex in  
 artibus bene eruditos ad theologiam studendam aptos continuo  
 studio et lectura vehementi opera insistentes sub principali  
 magistro regendos fieri sustentari diligenti cura (et precipue  
 paterna pietate dum eos infirmari contigerit prout in statutis

A. ecclesia  
dei.

A. invictis-  
simi.

A. consensu  
et assensu.

A. et novo.

A. geret.

A. scolares  
pauperes.



continentur pia miseracione) foveri volumus statuimus et ordinamus de redditibus et possessionibus rebusque monasterii sancti-andree in parte et ex prioris moderni industria acquisitis de quibus per cartas et sasinas illos dotarunt sustinendos Quos magistrum et regentes ad lecturam et doctrinam in artibus philosophicis et divinis qualificados capellanos et scolares in divinis serviciis ceremoniis studiis lecturis moribus vita laboribus habitu exercitiis usibusque universis seriem modum ordinem vivendi formam mores condiciones statuta et ordinationes in aliis nostris dicti collegii statutorum litteris seu libris contentos perimplere et inviolabiliter observare volumus Quod si ausu temerario omiserint aut contraierint a dicto nostro collegio doctrinis studiis privilegiis libertatibus rebusque et commoditatibus eiusdem universis per dictos priorem conventum eorumque successores sciant se amovendos dictum tamen collegium in melius alterandi reformandi et augendi in omnibus suis personis fundatis divinis serviciis regulis ceremoniis studiis lecturis exercitiis aliisque condicionibus et statutis universis contemplacione desiderio et supplicacione dicti domini prioris moderni *quodvixerit* salva nobis dumtaxat libera facultate tocians quociens Iohannes hepburn antedictus prior hoc requisierit Prohibemus insuper ne quis hanc nostri collegii fundacionem et erectionem infringere aut de rebus vel bonis collegio et collegistis collatis et conferendis quicquam auferre seu illos in pacifica possessione et usu eorundem impedire aut malum molestiam seu gravamen aliquod minus iuste inferre presumant seu presumat sub anathematis pena et maledictionis eterne Nostrasque litteras et processus excommunicacionis aggravacionis reaggravacionis et interdicti ad prioris et conventus seu magistri principalis collegii instanciam et petitionem contra Illorum invasores aut eis iniuriam inferentes per nostros officiales decernimus et volumus fulminari In cuius rei testimonium sigillum nostrum autenticum una cum sigillo communi capituli nostri huic nostre erectioni est appensum apud palacium nostrum sanctiandree vicesimo die mensis augusti Anno domini millesimo quingentesimo duodecimo Tenor vero secunde carte sequitur in hunc modum OMNIBUS hanc cartam visuris vel audituris Iohannes hepburn permissione

A. quoad-  
vixerit.



divina Ecclesie metropolitane sanctiandree prior et eiusdem loci conventus salutem in domino Noveritis nos in capitulo nostro capitulariter congregatos unanimi consensu et assensu utilitate commodo et honestate monasterii nostri ac divini cultus incremento in eodem undique previsis et pensatis diligenti tractatu et matura deliberacione desuper prehabitis dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse necnon dare concedere et hac presenti carta nostra confirmare collegio nostro pauperum clericorum sanctiandree per nos nuper constructo et fundato autoritateque ordinaria in collegium erecto ac magistris regentibus capellanis studentibus et scolaribus eiusdem collegii eorumque successoribus in puram et perpetuam elimosinam omnes et singulas terras nostras de kenloquhiis superiore et inferiore unacum decimis garbalibus et fructibus vicarie earundem quas antea hospitale vetus sanctiandree sine decimis habuerat terras de *fauseide* cum decimis garbalibus earundem reservatis abbatisse H. fausyd. monialium de *hadingtoun* et conventui eiusdem septemdecim H. hading- solidis de eisdem decimis Terras et acras nostras de rahelpy<sup>ton.</sup> prope civitatem sanctiandree numero continentes ut mensurari consueverunt sexaginta tres acras cum dimedia que fuerunt eciam veteris hospitalis unacum annuis redditibus tenementorum de *argale* super terras de rahelpy constructorum ac cum fructibus H. argail. et proventibus vicarie earundem terrarum et inhabitancium eas- H. terris. dem de omnibus suis bonis vicario decimam debentibus prout iuris exigencia exigit et requirit Novam wardam nostram iacentem inter terras de lambilethny et novam grangiam Quinque mercas annui redditus terrarum de *cottoun* de forret et duo mol- H. cotton. endina nostra de *goukston* et *cragmill* per nos iam pridem edifi- H. goukston. cata cum multuris et sequelis suis iacentia infra vicecomitatum H. cragmyl. de *fyffe* et in regalitate sanctiandree Necnon terras tenementa H. fyff. et annuos redditus infrascriptos infra civitatem sanctiandree et glebam monasterii eiusdem videlicet totas et integras terras et tenementa de venella vulgariter dicta *le* priouris wynd alias H. omits *le*. burn wynd et infra venellam ipsam et portam monasterii exteriorem unacum annuis redditibus universis ipsis dumtaxat exceptis que pittanciis conventus debentur ac fructibus et proventibus vicarie infra dictos limites nobis debitis salvis terris et

tenementis per nos et predecessores nostros aliis ad feodifirmam locatis possessoribus earundem cuius vinelle alique partes fuerunt veteris hospitalis ac duo tenementa contigue iacentia in vico australi dicte civitatis infra terram quondam magistri andree

- H. Martyn. *martin* ex parte occidentali et dictam vinellam de priouris Wynd ex parte orientali una cum viginti solidis annui redditus de tenemento Iohannes smyth de terra interiori predicti orientalis tenementi inter videlicet le priouris Wynd ex parte orientali et exteriorem curiam tenementi quondam magistri david mony-peny ex parte occidentali tria tenementa nostra que fuerunt quondam thome *arthure* unum videlicet in vico castri inter terram
- H. arthur.  
H. Richartson.  
H. cutbert. Andree *richartsoun* ab oriente et Iohannis *cuthbert* ab occidente Aliud in vico australi inter tenementum roberti meffane ab oriente et thome meffane ab occidente Terciumque in eodem vico australi inter terram david *scott* ex parte orientali et quondam Elizabeth *rede* ex parte occidentali una cum hiis annuis redditibus videlicet de tenemento magistri laurencii lundoris duodecim denariis de tenemento alexandri patonson sex denariis de tenemento roberti *wincestre* sex denariis Et de tenemento
- H. wyncestre.  
H. arthur. willelmi *arthure* duodecim solidis Preterea infra vicecomitatum de *Edinburgh* principalem et Constabulariam de *hadingtoun*
- H. Edynburgh.  
H. hadynton. iacentia in villa de leith duo tenementa unum ex parte australi aque de leith inter communem vinellam seu viam ducentem ad portum ex orientali tenementumque domini thome *mugy* ex occidentali walteri zong burgensis de *Edinburgh* ex boreali et willelmi *wod* ex australi partibus Aliud tenementum ex parte australi dicte aque et apud finem australem pontis inter terram
- H. mugye.  
H. Edynburgh.  
H. wode. alani *wilsoun* ex orientali et communem viam ex occidentali partibus tercium eciam tenementum in burgo de *hadingtoun* iacens in vico appellato *sydgait* inter terram willelmi *kellois* ex parte australi et terram Iohannis *sybaldsoun* ex parte boreali solvendo tamen annuatim *in* primo tenemento in *leith* abbati et conventui monasterii sancte crucis viginti solidos annui redditus et domino david *scott* capellano collegii sancti salvatoris infra civitatem sanctiandree decem mercas annui redditus donec illos a possessoribus recuperaverimus TENENDAS et habendas omnes et singulas predictas terras tenementa et annuos redditus
- H. wilson.  
H. Hadington.  
H. sydgate.  
H. wyllelmi kelloys.  
H. Sybaldson.  
H. de primo.  
H. Leth.  
H. scot.



una cum molendinis et decimis garbalibus fructibusque vicarie superius expressis cum omnibus suis pertinentiis predictis collegio magistris regentibus cappellanis studentibus et scholaribus eiusdem ac eorum successoribus in puram et perpetuam elemosinam de nobis et successoribus nostris per omnes rectas metas suas in boscis planis viis semitis aquis stagnis rivulis pratis pascuis et pasturis moris *merresiis* petariis turbariis lapicidiis H. miresiis. carbonariis lapide et calce fabrilibus brasinis brueriis domibus edificiis columbariis cuniculariis ortis pomeriis silvis nemoribus virgultis et genestis molendinis multuris et eorum sequelis Aucupacionibus venacionibus *piscacionibus* herezeldis *bludewitis* H. et piscacionibus. et mulierum *marchetis* cum curiarum exitibus salvis nobis et H. bludewitis. successoribus nostris omnimoda iurisdictione nostra sic quod H. marchae-tis. omnes inhabitantes vel colentes terras dicti collegii nostri ad curias nostras veniant et coram nostris ballivis et officariis legem subeant Cum libero introitu et exitu ac cum communi pastura Necnon cum omnibus aliis et singulis libertatibus commoditatibus et asiamentis ac iustis suis pertinentiis ad dictas terras acras decimas vicarie fructus molendina tenementa edificia et annuos redditus spectantibus seu iuste spectare valentibus quomodolibet in futurum nominatis et non nominatis subtus terra et supra terram prope et procul libere quiete plenarie integre honorifice bene et in pace sine aliquo retinemento seu contradictione aliqua REDDENDO inde annuatim dictus magister principalis nobis et successoribus nostris dum requisitus fuerit quater in anno in festis videlicet omnium sanctorum purificationis beate marie virginis inventionis sancte crucis et beati petri advincola compositum et fidele *ratiocinium* de omnibus et singulis pecuniarum H. ratiocinacionem. et victualium summis per eundem receptis et earum expositionem in usum sustentacionem et reparacionem predictorum collegii et inhabitatorum eiusdem regentes vero capellani studentes et scolares unacum prefato magistro principali pro fundatoribus suis ac pro nobis et successoribus nostris oracionum suffragia devotarum ac statuta et ordinaciones dicti nostri collegii firmiter observando et perimplendo ut in eisdem continetur tantum pro omni alio onere servicio seculari exactione seu demanda que per nos aut successores nostros exigí poterunt quomodolibet



seu requiri preter premissa Salvis eciam domino archiepiscopo  
 sanctiandree superiori nostro omnimodis suis iurisdictionibus  
 H. regalitäts visitacionibus *regalitatibus curiis* et privilegiis aliisque iuribus  
 curiis. et serviciis debitis et consuetis Et nos vero dicti prior et con-  
 ventus ac successores nostri omnes et singulas predictas terras  
 tenementa annuos redditus decimas et vicarie fructus ut premit-  
 titur cum omnibus suis pertinentiis predictis magistris capellanis  
 studentibus et scolaribus suisque successoribus ut premissum est  
 contra omnes mortales warantizabimus acquietabimus et im-  
 perpetuum defendemus In cuius rei testimonium sigillum com-  
 mune capituli nostri huic presenti carte nostre est appensum  
 Apud monasterium nostrum sanctiandree primo die mensis  
 february Anno domini millesimo quingentesimo duodecimo  
 QUASQUIDEM cartas et erectionem donacionem et conces-  
 sionem in eisdem contentas in omnibus suis punctis et articulis  
 condicionibus et modis ac circumstanciis suis quibuscumque in  
 omnibus et per omnia forma pariter et effectu approbamus rati-  
 ficamus admortizamus et ad manum mortuam pro perpetuo ut  
 premissum est confirmamus Salvis nobis et successoribus nostris  
 predictorum magistrorum regencium capellanorum studencium  
 et pauperum clericorum oracionum suffragiis devotarum tantum  
 INSUPER pro salute anime nostre ac anime regine nostre  
 carissime consortis nostrorumque antecessorum et successorum  
 ac ob desiderium et favorem quos habemus augmentacioni divini  
 cultus et pro incremento clericorum et virorum magne prudencie  
 et intellectus infra regnum nostrum ad laudem et honorem dei  
 omnipotentis et spiritualem edificacionem nostrorum ligeorum  
 pro nobis et successoribus nostris Exemimus et imperpetuum ex-  
 oneramus predictos collegii magistris regentes capellanos stu-  
 dentes et pauperes clericos eiusdem de omnibus taxacionibus  
 contribucionibus imposicionibus exactionibus et aliis oneribus  
 quibuscumque que exigi poterunt quomodolibet vel requiri de  
 dictis collegio magistris regentibus capellanis studentibus et  
 pauperibus clericis eiusdem seu de dictis molendinis decimis  
 tenementis? *tenentibus* annuis redditibus et vicarie proficuis sibi temporibus  
 retroactis datis vel de aliis ecclesiis redditibus aut possessionibus  
 quibuscumque in futurum dandis tenore presencium Imperpe-

tuum IN CUIUS rei testimonium presenti carte nostre magnum sigillum<sup>1</sup> nostrum apponi precepimus TESTIBUS reverendissimo et reverendo in christo patribus Alexandro sanctiandree Archiepiscopo Cancellario nostro willelmo Episcopo abirdonensi nostri secreti sigilli custode dilectis consanguineis nostris Archibaldo comite de Ergile domino campbell et lorn magistro hospicii nostri Matheo comite de levinax domino dernlie Alexandro domino hume magno camerario nostro Andrea domino gray Iusticiario nostro dilectis clericis nostris magistris gawino dunbar archidiacono sanctiandree nostrorum rotulorum registri et concilii clerico et patricio paniter Secretario nostro Apud Edinburgh vicesimotercio die mensis februarii Anno domini millesimo quingentesimo duodecimo et regni nostri vicesimoquinto.

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<sup>1</sup> The seal is gone.

## THE CHARTER OF JAMES IV. TRANSLATED.

James, by the grace of God King of Scots, to all good-men of his whole land, clergy and laity, greeting. Be it known to you that as touching these two Charters hereinafter, to wit, one made by the right reverend and venerable fathers in Christ and our well-beloved Councillors, Alexander, by the mercy of God Archbishop of Saint Andrews, Primate of the whole Realm of Scotland, Legate of the Apostolic See, and Commendator of the Monasteries of Dunfermline and Coldingham, and John, Prior of the Metropolitan Church of Saint Andrews, and the Chapter of the same, anent the erection of a college named the College of Poor Clerks within the city of Saint Andrews; another made by the aforesaid venerable father, Prior John, and the afore-mentioned Convent, on behalf of the said College, and the Masters, Regents, Chaplains, Students, and Poor Clerks of the same, touching certain specified lands, mills, teinds, tenements, annual rents and profits of vicarage, given and granted to them by the said venerable Prior and Convent and confirmed by the aforesaid right reverend father in Christ, these charters have been by our order seen, read, inspected and diligently considered and that we are well satisfied that they are whole and intact, without erasure or cancelling, not suspect in any part thereof, under these forms following. And this is the tenor of the first charter :

Alexander, by the mercy of God Archbishop of the Metropolitan Church of Saint Andrews, Primate of the whole Realm of Scotland, Legate born of the Apostolic See, and perpetual Commendator of the Monasteries of Dunfermline and Coldingham; John, by the permission of God Prior of the Church of the same, and the Convent, to all faithful Christians who shall inspect these presents, greeting in the Lord. Whereas in time



past that holy servant of God, Regulus, brought the relics of Saint Andrew the Apostle by miraculous guidance from the city of Patras to Scotland, and being reverently and honourably received at that time by the Catholic King, deposited them in the seat where our Metropolis now stands ; and whereas thereafter *Princes* and many others distinguished by the Christian name did in that place do service to the Almighty in divers ways, to wit, by the foundation of churches, by the appointing of divine worship, by the institution of ecclesiastical dignities and the present Monastery of Canons Regular, so that from divers lands, far and near, divers pilgrims did set forth to the Church of Saint Andrews because of the wonders for which the relics of the blessed Apostle became famous, and in the zeal of their devotion thronged thither from day to day ; and for the reception of these pilgrims the Prior and Convent of our church aforesaid did out of their piety build an Hospital of Saint Andrews, joined unto the church of the blessed Leonard ; and whereas in the course of time the Christian faith had been established in our parts, and miracles and pilgrimages, as we may without impiety believe, had in a measure ceased, so that the Hospital was without pilgrims and the Priors aforesaid did set therein certain women chosen by reason of old age who did give little or no return in devotion or virtue ; We, with intent to steady the tossing bark of Peter and make better the Church of God, so far at least as it is committed to our own jurisdiction and power, now that it is falling away from virtuous exercises, do erect and create as a College by our ordinary authority the Hospital and the church of Saint Leonard joined thereto, newly built in a proper form at the expense of the Church of Saint Andrews and with the money got by the Prior for the purpose, and do appoint thereto certain men, to wit a Master Canon, Chaplains, and Poor Scholars of honest conversation and upright life, chosen by us the Prior and Convent, with others, Priests, Regents and Students in the divers Faculties to be appointed (not indeed to the intent that men be supported there for their poverty but the rather that in the Church persons learned in doctrine and of excellent instruction may be multi-  
Following A.

plied to the glory of God Almighty and the spiritual edification of the people); and in reliance on the grace of the Lord Our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Virgin Mary His Mother, and of the blessed Apostle Andrew, our Patron, on the authority, aid, and help of the most Holy Father in Christ, Leo, the Roman Pontiff, and of the invincible and right illustrious Prince and Lord whom we do rightly fear, James the Fourth, by the grace of God King of Scotland, and on the advice and unanimous consent of our brethren, the whole Chapter of our Church, after careful consultation and mature deliberation therein, we do erect the same into a College, henceforth to be named the College of Poor Clerks of the Church of Saint Andrews, to be endowed from lands, teinds, possessions, and rents partly of our Church aforesaid and partly got by the present Prior for the purpose; and this we do confirm by constitutions, ordinances, and statutes hereinafter inscribed and by other special references in our letters patent.

First, to the intent that the worship of God may be increased in some measure until God himself, who doth immediately direct good works, will provide greater means for us, the Prior and Convent aforesaid, that do now bear these costs, to add to the following, we do direct, ordain, and determine that there be appointed in the said College one Master and Director Principal, a Canon of our Chapter, four Chaplains, and two of them Regents, to celebrate in perpetuity divine rites each day after appointment for the souls of the founders both of old and of new, one of whom should have the cure of souls; twenty Scholars, all instructed in the Grammar sufficiently to undertake the other liberal arts (and some of them, that they may become more apt to uphold and adorn our chief College of Saint Andrews in divine offices, instructed in the Gregorian Chant at least, and, if this may be compassed, also in the Discant); and six Scholars well trained in the Arts, fitted for the study of Theology, very earnest and continuous at study and lectures, to be ruled under the Master Principal; and these Scholars to be maintained diligently (and especially if they fall ill, to be tended with fatherly care and merciful kindness, as is contained in the

statutes)<sup>1</sup>; and they are to be supported in part from the rents, possessions, and revenues of the Monastery of Saint Andrews, and from the means got by the present Prior for the purpose, from which they have been endowed by charters and sasines.

It is our will that these, to wit the Master and Regents fitted to lecture and teach in the arts of Philosophy and Divinity, the Chaplains, and the Scholars should fulfil and observe unbroken in divine services, ceremonies, studies, and lectures, in their manners, life, work, dress, exercises, and general usages, the routine, method, order, form of living, habits, conditions, statutes, and ordinances prescribed in our other writings or books of statutes anent the said College. As to which if they venture to make omission or infringement they must know that the said Prior and Convent or their successors are to remove them from our said College, from its teaching, studies, privileges, liberties, and from all the resources and advantages of the same; saving that, as touching the improvement and reform of the said College and the enlarging thereof in respect of all persons on the foundation, divine services, rules, ceremonies, studies, lectures, exercises and other conditions and statutes generally, there is reserved for us by the purpose, desire, and request of the existing Lord Prior and as long as he shall live, a free power thereanent as often as John Hepburn, the aforesaid Prior, may require.

Furthermore we do forbid any person or persons that they should presume to violate this foundation and erection of our College or remove aught of the possessions or goods conferred or to be conferred upon the College and members thereof or to impede them in their peaceful possession and use of the same or to bring on them unjustly any injury, trouble, or loss on pain of anathema and malediction for ever; and we do decree that our letters and processes of excommunication, aggravation, re-aggravation and interdict at the instance and prayer of the Prior and Convent, or of the Master Principal of the College against their assailants and such as do them injury be fulminated by our

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<sup>1</sup> Apparently the bracket should come after "foveri," but the passage is very awkward.



Officials. In testimony whereof our own authentic seal with the common seal of our Chapter is affixed to this our present Charter of erection. Given at our palace of Saint Andrews, the twentieth day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and twelve.

Here follows the tenor of the second charter :—

CHARTER  
OF JOHN  
HEPBURN,  
1st February,  
1512-13

To all who shall see or hear this Charter, John Hepburn, by the permission of God Prior of the Metropolitan Church of Saint Andrews and of the Convent of the same, greeting in the Lord. Know that we, chapterly assembled, by unanimous consent and agreement, after diligent forethought and consideration in our Chapter for the advantage, profit, and honour of our Monastery and the increase of divine worship, and upon careful consultation and mature deliberation thereanent, have given, granted, and by this our present Charter confirmed, likewise do give, grant, and by this our present Charter confirm to our College of Poor Clerks of Saint Andrews, lately built and founded by us and erected into a College by ordinary authority, and to the Masters, Regents, Chaplains, Students, and Scholars of the same and their successors for pure charity in perpetuity, all and sundry our lands of Kenloquhy, Upper and Lower, along with the great teinds and the fruits of vicarage of the same, which formerly the old Hospital of Saint Andrews enjoyed without the teinds ; the lands of Fausyde with their great teinds less seventeen shillings from the same kept back for the Abbess of the Nunnery of Hadingtoun and for the Convent thereof ; our lands and acres of Rahelpy near the city of Saint Andrews containing, according as they have been wont to be measured, sixty three acres and a half, which also pertained to the old Hospital, along with the annual rents of the tenements of Argale built on the lands of Rahelpy, and with the fruits and produce of vicarage of these lands and of their inhabitants owing a teind to the vicar from all their goods as the law exacts and requires ; our New Ward situate between the lands of Lambilethny and the New Grange ; five merks of annual rent from the lands of Cottoun de Forret ; and our two mills of Goukstoun and Cragmyll, formerly built by us, with their multures and sequels, situate within the Sheriffdom of

LANDS  
AND  
RENTS

*v. Reg. Prior.  
S. And., p. 330  
(A.D. 1245).*

Fyffe and in the Regality of Saint Andrews ; likewise the lands, tenements and annual rents hereafter specified within the city of Saint Andrews and the glebe of the Monastery thereof, to wit, all and whole the lands and tenements of the vennel commonly called the Priour's Wynd or Burn Wynd and between the vennel itself and the outer gate of the Monastery, together with the whole annual rents, excepting only what sums are owing for pittances of the Convent and the fruits and produce of vicarage due to us within the said limits, and saving the lands and tenements granted to other holders in feufarm, of which vennel some parts pertained to the old Hospital ; and two adjacent tenements in the South street of the said city between the land formerly belonging to Master Andrew Martin on the West and the said vennel of Priour's Wynd on the East, together with twenty shillings of annual rent from the tenement of John Smyth, from the inner land of the aforesaid east tenement, to wit, between Priour's Wynd on the East and the outer court of the tenement once pertaining to Master David Monypenny on the West ; our three tenements which once pertained to Thomas Arthure, to wit, one in the Castle street between the land of Andrew Richartsoun on the East and of John Cuthbert on the West ; another in the South street between the tenement of Robert Meffane on the East and of Thomas Meffane on the West ; and a third in the same South street between the land of David Scott on the East and that once pertaining to Elizabeth Rede on the West, together with these annual rents, to wit, from the tenement of Master Laurence Lundoris twelve pence, from the tenement of Alexander Patonson six pence, from the tenement of Robert Wincestre six pence, and from the tenement of William Arthure twelve shillings ; furthermore two tenements situate within the Sheriffdom principal of Edinburgh and the Constabulary of Hadingtoun, in the town of Leith, one on the South of the Water of Leith between the common vennel or road leading to the harbour on the East and the tenement of Sir Thomas Mugy on the West, of Walter Zong, burgher of Edinburgh, on the North, and of William Wod on the South ; another tenement on the South of the said Water and at the

south end of the bridge between the land of Alan Wilsoun on the East and the common road on the West ; also a third tenement in the burgh of Hadingtoun, situate in the street called Sydgait between the land of William Kellois on the South and the land of John Sybaldsoun on the North, providing that an annual rent of twenty shillings be payed each year in the case of the first tenement in Leith to the Abbot and Convent of the Monastery of the Holy Rood, and to Sir David Scott, chaplain of the College of Saint Salvator in the city of Saint Andrews, ten merks of annual rent until we shall have recovered these rents from their holders ; all and sundry the aforesaid lands, tenements, and annual rents together with mills and great teinds and the fruits of vicarage herein before specified with all their pertinents to be held and possessed by the aforesaid College, Masters, Regents, Chaplains, Students and Scholars of the same and their successors for pure charity in perpetuity from us and our successors through all their righteous meiths in woodlands, arable lands, roads, byways, waters, ponds, streams, meadows, grazing and pasture lands, moors, marshes, petaries, turbaries, quarries, coal-pits, stone and lime, smithies, malt-kilns, breweries, houses, buildings, dovecots, rabbit warrens, gardens, orchards, forests, woods, plantations and heaths, mills, multures, and sequels of the same, fowlings, huntings, and fishings, death-dues, fines for blood, and marriage fees of women, with the issues of the courts ; safe-guarding us and our successors in all our jurisdiction whatsoever so that all inhabitants or cultivators of the lands of our said College are to come to our courts and submit to the law before our baillies and officers, with free entry and ish and with common pasture ; likewise with all and sundry freedoms, commodities, easements, and pertinents justly belonging to the said lands, acres, teinds of vicarage, fruits, mills, tenements, buildings, and annual rents, or that may justly belong howsoever for the future, named and not named, under ground and above ground, near and far, freely, quietly, fully, entirely, honourably, rightly and in peace, without any reserve or any sort of contradiction ; providing that the said Master Principal shall render thereof each year to us and our successors so long

TENEN-  
DAS.

REDDEN-  
DO.



as he shall be required, four times in the year, to wit at the Feasts of All Saints, the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Finding of the Holy Cross, and Saint Peter's Chains<sup>1</sup> account and faithful reckoning concerning all and sundry the sums of money and victuals received by him and concerning their disposal for the use, support, and repair of the aforesaid College and its inmates ; and that the Regents, Chaplains, Students and Scholars along with the aforesaid Master Principal shall offer pious prayers on behalf of their founders and for us and our successors, and shall faithfully observe and fulfil the Statutes and Ordinances of our said College according to their tenor, in discharge of every other burden, secular service, exaction or demand which in the future can be imposed howsoever or required by us or our successors over and above the premisses ; reserving also for the Lord Archbishop of Saint Andrews, our Superior, all his jurisdictions whatsoever, visitations, courts of *regality*, and privileges and other rights and services due and wont. And we for our part, the saids Prior and Convent and our successors, shall warrant, acquit, and evermore defend against all deadly all and sundry the aforesaid lands, tenements, annual rents, teinds, fruits of vicarage, as in the premisses, with all their pertinents, to the aforesaid Masters, Chaplains, Students, and Scholars and their successors as hath been premised. In witness whereof the common seal of our Chapter hath been hung to this our present Charter, at our Monastery of Saint Andrews, the first day of February in the year of Our Lord one thousand five hundred and twelve.

Following  
H.

The which Charters and the erection, gift and grant therein contained, in all their points and articles, conditions, modes, and circumstances whatsoever, in all and through all, in form and effect, we do approve, ratify, mortify, and confirm in mortmain for ever, as hath been premised, providing in return for us and our successors the devout prayers of the aforesaid Masters, Regents, Chaplains, Students, and Poor Clerks. Furthermore, for the salvation of our soul and the soul of the Queen our well-

QUAS-  
QUIDEM  
CARTAS.

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<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, at the beginning of November, February, May and August.

beloved Consort and of our predecessors and successors, and by reason of the desire and good-will that we have for the growth of divine worship, and for the increase of clerks and men of great prudence and understanding within our Realm to the glory and honour of God Almighty and the spiritual edification of our lieges, on our own behalf and on behalf of our successors we have released and do in perpetuity deliver the aforesaid Masters of the College, Regents, Chaplains, Students, and Poor Clerks of the same from all taxations, contributions, impositions, exactions and other burdens whatsoever which in the future can be exacted howsoever or required of the saids College, Masters, Regents, Chaplains, Students, and Poor Clerks of the same, or

v. Latin text. of the said mills, teinds, *tenements*, annual rents, and profits of vicarage granted them in time past or of other churches, rents, and possessions whatsoever in future to be granted, by the tenor of these presents for all time to come. In witness whereof we have bidden our Great Seal be hung to this our present Charter, before the right reverend and reverend fathers in Christ, Alexander, Archbishop of Saint Andrews, our Chancellor, and William, Bishop of Aberdeen, Keeper of our Privy Seal; our well-beloved kinsmen, Archibald, Earl of Ergile, Lord Campbell and Lorne, Master of our Household, and Matthew, Earl of Lennox, Lord Darnley, and Alexander, Lord Hume, our High Chamberlain, and Andrew, Lord Gray, our Justiciar; our well-beloved Clergy, Masters Gavin Dunbar, Archdeacon of Saint Andrews, Clerk of our Rolls, Register, and Council, and Patrick Paniter, our Secretary: at Edinburgh, the twenty third of February, in the year of Our Lord one thousand five hundred and twelve and in the twenty fifth year of our reign.

INCIPIUNT STATUTA COLLEGII PAUPERUM  
DOMINORUM PRIORIS ET CONVENTUS  
PRIORATUS SANCTI ANDREE PROPE EC-  
CLESIAM DIVI LEONARDI SITUATI.<sup>1</sup>

PROLOGUS.

Omnia (inquit apostolus paulus) honeste et secundum ordi-  
nem fiant in vobis. His apostoli verbis christifideles instru-  
untur ordinatam vivendi normam debere tenere.\* Que tametsi \* *Sic.*  
omnibus generaliter dicta esse cognoscimus tamen pre ceteris  
5 convenire videntur his qui in tenera ac puberi etate consistunt  
quibus iccirco ordo quidam ac regularis vite modus tradendus  
est ne etas immaturior et ob id suapte natura ad flagicium prona  
sese per insolentiam precipitem agat. Cui sententie esaias pro-  
pheta astipulatur dicens, pascentur agni iuxta ordinem suum :  
10 per agnos haud dubie iuniores quosque intelligens quibus ordo  
ita constituendus est ut per ordinatam utriusque vite directionem  
assiduo non tam carnali quam spirituali pabulo pascantur. Quo-  
circa nos Iohannes hepburne prior sancti andree iuxta doctrinam  
divi petri apostoli, qui (sicut in actibus apostolorum legitur)  
15 incipiens exponebat illis ordinem de consilio et assensu fratrum  
nostrorum brevem quandam vite ordinem pauperibus scolasticis  
presbiteris et regentibus collegii divi andree apostoli iuxta  
ecclesiam sancti leonardi situati collegimus : quem hic inferius  
descriptum inviolabiliter ab omnibus volumus observari.

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<sup>1</sup>The spelling and punctuation of the original are followed throughout, except that the text is here printed without contractions : in the MS. these are not used to any considerable extent. The writing is very carefully executed. This version of the Statutes belongs to the year 1544.



## DE MODO RECIPIENDI. CAPUT 1º.

Statuimus et ordinamus quod volens in nostro pauperum collegio recipi feria sexta post suam a domino priore admissionem ad magistrum collegii principalem accedat petendo genibus flexis ob amorem domini nostri ihesus christi ad illam sanctam admitti societatem. Ipse autem principalis postquam una cum suppriori et terciopriore ipsum in grammatica diligenter examinaverit: de vite etiam honestate morumque gravitate: necnon rerum temporalium paupertate studiosissime inquesiverit: si ipsum in grammaticalibus tritum invenerint primam scilicet et secundam partes vel saltem magnam portionem secunde partis complevisse, nullaque infamia seculari seu crimine irretitum, rebus temporalibus inopem, morum gravitate peditum in arte scribendi bene peritum, cantuque gregoriano sufficienter instructum cum Literis commendaticiis sua et duorum predictorum manibus subscriptis ad dominum priorem eundem benigne transmittat. Nullus a domino priore admittatur nisi prius a predictis examinatus fuerit et ad ipsum missus. Nec aliquis ad ipsum ab eis dirigatur nisi in grammaticalibus et aliis conditionibus seu circumstantiis supradictis repertus fuerit idoneus et sufficiens prout ipsi examinatores divinam ultionem vitare voluerint. Nullus prece pretio seu cujuscumque persone religiose vel secularis supplicatione aut instantia nisi alias sufficiens et idoneus existit recipiatur sub pena maledictionis eterne: immo si plures se optulerint ille qui rigore examinis in scientia et aliis requisitis judicatur prestantior omnibus aliis simpliciter preferatur. Nullus citra xv<sup>m</sup> etatis sue annum nec ultra xxi<sup>m</sup> recipiatur. Illi etiam qui ex aliorum christifidelium in nostro pauperum collegio fundantur elemosinis: sint ut nostri qualificati: sicut nostri recipiantur: sicut nostri ad singula collegii statuta observanda astringantur: et cum nostris in studiis sive cellis domus inferioris ac in latere australi ejusdem bini et bini collocentur.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The copy of the Statutes in the Chartulary of the College adds "si commode fieri potest" in a different hand.

## DE DIVINO OFFICIO. CAPUT SECUNDUM.

Qualibet septimana assignetur suscitator qui a paschate usque ad exaltationem sancte crucis hora quinta suscitet: ab exaltatione autem usque ad pascha hora intermedia ad sextam. Signo itaque campane facto in diebus festivis convenientes ad  
5 chorum primam missam audiendo (quam hebdomadarius hebdomade precedentis sine cantu celebrabit) officium matutinale beate virginis aliaque devotionalia devotissime legant. Hora nona in diebus festivis pro summa missa (quam hebdomadarius cantabit) pulsetur, et eam cantu gregoriano devote tractimque  
10 cantent: sed in diebus ferialibus quum una tantum missa habetur ex debito, summa missa hora sexta ab hebdomadario cantetur: idque ut liberius vacent lectionibus et bonarum literarum studiis. Hora tertia quolibet die pro vesperis pulsetur quas similiter cantu gregoriano devote non sincopando nec vana  
15 aut impertinentia colloquendo persolvant. Hora septima pro Salve pulsetur, quod una cum commemoratione sancti andree et beati leonardi omnes alta voce cantabunt. Item omni dominica in choro dicant dirige ix lectionum pro fundatoribus et benefactoribus suis et hoc bini et bini. Insuper quolibet mense  
20 confiteantur: et in festis nativitatis domini pasce penthecostes ac assumptionis gloriose virginis omnes sacratissime eucharistie sacramentum (confessione sacramentali premissa) devotissime recipiant.

## DE MODO INTERIUS CONVERSANDI. CAPUT 3.

Volumus lectionem de mane singulis ferialibus diebus hora septima per principalem aut unum ex regentibus per vices et secundum principalis discretionem dumtaxat legi prout illud sibi expediens videbitur utileque ac commodum studentibus:  
5 ad quam omnes studentes (sicut principalis voluerit) obedienter conveniant. Preterea singule sedes tempore per earundem sedium magistros deputato proprias habeant lectiones. Item ter in hebdomada post prandium in grammatica poesi arte oratoria vel ex salomonis libris per unum ex regentibus vicissim  
10 et secundum principalis ordinationem lectio competens habeatur

sed non in sabbato, ut liberius illo die disputationibus vacent. Porro in undecima et quinta horis singulis ferialibus diebus pro regula pulsetur, qua finita rei condigne puniantur. Similiter sabbativis diebus hora secunda pro disputationibus solenniter pulsetur. Post cenam autem singulis ferialibus diebus repara- 15  
 tiones fiant sed potissimum tempore estivali et secundum voluntatem principalis. Volumus autem quod antequam ad magisterii gradum procedant logicam phisicam philosophiam Metaphisicam et ethicorum libros vel saltem pro eis unum aliquem ex Salomonis libris addiscant. Volumus preterea omnes indifferenter 20  
 latine loqui. Et ut locutionis vulgaris eisdem subtrahatur occasio volumus neminem in illo loco preter coquum ac eius parvulum remanere: nisi voluerit se aliis studentibus (latine loquendo) conformare. Assuescant etiam ubique modeste mansuete honeste ac cum gravitate loqui. A triplici autem ictu campane post 25  
 salve usque ad suscitationem de mane ad evitandam aliorum inquietationem nemo nisi submissa voce loquatur. Ulterius quolibet die circa octavam horam singuli studentium quatuor uncias panis habeant. Pro prandio autem pulsetur hora intermedia ad duodecimam in quo quilibet octo uncias panis et copinam 30  
 potus competentis habeat. In cena vero (pro qua hora intermedia ad sextam pulsabitur) eadem que in prandio sit panis et potus mensura. Insuper in diebus carniū potagio seu oleribus cum carniū ferculo semper in prandio reficiantur. In cena vero brodio carniū particulis immissis cum competenti etiam 35  
 carniū ferculo vescantur. Et in diebus piscium in prandio olera habeant et tam in prandio quam in cena duobus ferculis piscium (vel equivalenter ad hec) recreentur. Ieiuniorum vero diebus singuli duodecim uncias panis habeant: nec non singuli  
 quatuor,\* tres pintas potus cum tribus ferculis piscium ac potagio 40  
 habeant. Ieiunia ecclesie ab his qui vigesimum primum etatis sue annum attigerint, inviolabiliter serventur. Iuniores autem quousque decimum octavum attigerint annum nolumus ieiunio astringere preterquam in vigiliis nativitatis domini pasche penthecostes, assumptionis gloriose virginis, omnium sanctorum ac 45  
 sancti andree apostoli et quadragesime sextis feriis. Illi autem qui xviii annum attingunt superaddant in quadragesima feriam

\* *vid.* Note ad loc. in translation.



quartam. De sero in diebus ieiuniorum pro collatione singuli habeant copinam potus cum quatuor unciis panis. In aliis vigiliis  
 50 seu quadragesime diebus habeant unum ferculum piscium (loco collationis) cum pane et potu extra ieiunium consuetis. In mensa communitatis lectio sacre scripture seu alterius materie moralis aut historialis continue vel successive habeatur secundum quod principalis voluerit: et unus de fundatione in principio alter  
 55 vero ex commensalibus in fine prandii et cene ad legendum teneatur: et in sextis feriis in prandio volumus hec nostra statuta legi. Duo autem studentium alternatis vicibus servient in communitate unus ad cyphos et alius a coquina, qui una cum coquo in fine communis refectionis comedent. Ad hec volumus  
 60 singulis sabbatis totum locum per quatuor studentes sibi invicem succedentes scopari seu mundari: necnon fenestras seu vitralia celaturas altaria ac parietes ab araneorum telis et aliis fecibus per omnium studentium sollicitum laborem bis in anno, scilicet ante nativitatem domini et pascha purgari. Item assignetur  
 65 unus sacerdotum vir maturus et devotus sacrista principalis qui ecclesie ac parochianorum curam gerat: et sub quo vel altero capellano vel uno ex regentibus pro tempore hebdomadario singulis septimanis singuli studentium subserviant; et ad missam epistolam cantent. Item octava hora de sero tam in  
 70 yeme quam in estate a magistro principali vel ab uno regentium sibi per vices succedentium camere diligenter visitentur.

#### DE MODO EXTERIUS EXEUNDI. CAPUT 4.

Ordinamus quod assignetur ianitor porte exterioris unus de gremio loci, pauper studens, vel operarius, qui portam hora quinta in estate aperiat, et post salve hora nona claudat: reliquo vero tempore scilicet hyemali hora sexta aperiat et hora  
 5 octava de sero claudatur: et hic ianitor (nisi sit caputiatus) in tabula impleat cyphum studentibus qui sunt de gremio loci. Claves autem clausa porta de sero magistro principali tradat repetendo easdem propter apertionem de mane. Nullum autem extraneum presertim inhonestum aut vilem sine magistri prin-  
 10 cipalis licentia intrare permittat: precipue nolumus alicui persone muliebri aliquem in loco nostro esse ingressum excepta communi lotrice etate ad minus quinquagenaria: quia dicit Ieronymus Non

potest toto corde cum deo habitare qui feminarum accessibus copulatur. Nullum insuper studentium exire aut mulierem (nisi ut dictum est) intrare permittat sub pena expulsionis simpliciter 15 de collegio. Si autem aliquam aliam personam sine principalis licentia intrare permiserit, per eiusdem magistri discretionem debite puniatur. Nemo portam collegii exire presumat sine magistri principalis aut proprii regentis licentia speciali: nec alicui licentiam concedant nisi pro rationabili et honesta causa, 20 dato sibi prius socio ad castitatis et honestatis testimonium illibatam. Exeuntes autem quocumque intra civitatem mantello et caputio semper induantur. Sed pro formalibus recipiendis omnes simul ad pedagogium proficiscantur excepto quod quadragesimali tempore sufficiat solos bachalarios confirmandos gratia 25 examinationis illuc ire. Tempore autem generalium processionum omnes ad processionem devote et mature conveniant in superpelliciiis aut collobiis secundum principalis discretionem: hebdomadarius quoque ad epistolam portabit crucem et duo iuniores candelabra gerant. Item omni septimana omnes loci 30 studentes (comitante eos aliquo magistrorum) campos simul visitent: peractisque ibidem aliquibus ludis (honestis tamen) ad vespertas insimul revertantur: nec licebit alicui usque ad omnium reditum sese a reliquo grege segregare. Quod si sepius quam semel in hebdomada camporum refrigerium concedatur (quod 35 tamen omnino dissuademus) tunc qui sunt de gremio loci per principalem ad aliquem honestum laborem in horto vel alibi deputentur. Custodie portarum, ciphorum impletiones, ministerii mensalis officia a nemine nisi fuerit de gremio loci exercentur: nisi forte propter oneris gravitatem videatur principali 40 quod assignentur aliqui ad eorum supplementum. Mulieres locum nostrum aliterquam processionis causa et aliterquam dictum est penitus non ingrediantur. Officinas autem interiores nullo prorsus tempore intrare permittantur.

DE MAGISTRO PRINCIPALI CAPELLANIS ET REGENTIBUS.

CAPUT 5.

Volumus etiam ex fratrum nostrorum collegio videlicet ex capitulo Sanctiandree, per priorem eiusdem perpetuis futuris temporibus unum aliquem canonicum virum gravem prudentem

et doctum in sacris Literis doctorem licentiatum aut bachalarium  
5 seu alium quemvis eruditum ex capitulo Sanctiandree canonicum  
eligi et nominari ac dicto nostro pauperum collegio prefici locique  
magistrum principalem nuncupari. Cui omnes alii presbyteri re-  
gentes et discipuli humiliter obediant, ad eius monita et directiones  
10 diligenter auscultent, correctiones pro delictis ab ipso benigne  
tueantur et habeant. Singuli etiam loci officarii sibi quotiens-  
cunque voluerit de bonis collegii ratiocinium reddant. Ipse vero  
semel in anno domino priori computum de rebus ipsis exhibere  
teneatur. Et in festis majoribus vespas cum missa et collectas  
15 post salve cantabit omnibusque feriis quartis et sextis presbyteris  
regentibus et aliis quibuscumque interesse volentibus lectionem in  
sacris literis, aut in speculativa theologia scite et mature docebit.  
Sint preterea in collegio duo devoti sacerdotes, quorum unus (ut  
dictum est) spiritualibus alter vero temporalibus superintendat  
20 negociis. Primus sit curatus et sacrista : secundus provisor et  
rerum temporalium procurator. Hii duo una cum regentibus  
vesperas missas et collectas post salve in festis minoribus dom-  
iniciis ac ferialibus diebus hebdomadatim prompte devoteque  
cantent. Regentes vero quatuor sint in numero aut pauciores  
25 secundum quod loci facultates ferre possunt et magister prin-  
cipalis iudicaverit expedire. Verum ad regendi officium in-  
stituentur ac recipientur per dominum priorem et collegii pro  
tempore existentem magistrum principalem. Recepti quoque  
statim et in ipso receptionis articulo prestabunt fidelitatis et  
30 obedientie iuramentum Videlicet ad volendum et procurandum  
republicam loci ad instruendum juventutem in bonis moribus  
salutaribusque doctrinis, ad obediendum principali collegii mag-  
istro in licitis et honestis, precipue in his que refrenant vicia et  
promoveant virtutes : et ad recipiendum correctionem pro eorum  
35 demeritis si quid deficere contingat in his (que eos concernunt)  
observandis loci institutis. Admissi autem et quilibet eorum  
admissus docebit omni die saltem feriali sue classi tres vel ad  
minus duas lectiones ordinarias, de quibus etiam computum re-  
cipiet et in nescientes ac reos celeriter animadvertent nec id solum  
40 sed quoscumque sue classis nostri collegii statuta transgredientes



iuxta delicti exigentiam sine mora (cum maturitate tamen et  
 charitative misericorditerque) castigent. Et si quid eorum vires  
 excedit hoc ipsum magistro principali (qui totius collegii curam  
 gerit) statim et sine dilatione intimetur. Ipse etiam principalis  
 presbyteri et regentes pro suis laboribus habebunt infra locum 45  
 cameras et victum quotidianum honeste, ut decet. Et prefati  
 etiam regentes in eadem sedeant tabula ex eodem (quantum  
 fieri potest) vescantur ferculo, ex eodem potu bibant, eisdemque  
 fruuntur bellariis, una itidem sedeant una surgant, sicque dis-  
 ponantur universa quod iuniores senioribus semper deferant 50  
 honorem et dilectionem. Et preter victum ac ea quae ei de-  
 bentur ex monasterio principalis habebit pro stipendio annuo  
 decem libras, una cum iuvene servitore qui ciphario in magna  
 mensa adiumento sit: unusquisque vero ex sacerdotibus et  
 regentibus decem mercas nisi fortassis aliqui ex ipsis habeant 55  
 altaragia, qui tunc habebunt sicut dictum est, vel iuxta funda-  
 tionis ac unionis altaragii sui tenorem: et id quidem secundum  
 sacerdotis vel regentis meritum seu demeritum: proviso etiam  
 quod meritissimis quantum fieri potest et iuxta principalis dis-  
 cretionem potiora distribuuntur officia: et rentale loci, libri com- 60  
 munes, munimenta, iocalium registra seu inventaria, a principali  
 cum consilio duorum vel trium canonicorum debite conserventur  
 in loco apto tutoque: nec inconueniens reputabitur si principalis  
 die quolibet post cenam rationem expensarum diariam recipiat  
 a provisore, assistente sibi uno aut altero ex gremio loci. Nec 65  
 licebit alicui ex presbyteris aut regentibus a semel recepto re-  
 silire officio nisi prius hoc magistro principali per trium mensium  
 spacium significetur preterquam in casu quo aliquod notabile  
 occurrat commodum: nec ipse magister principalis quempiam  
 ab officio non prius facta simili trium mensium premonitione 70  
 amoveat, nisi fortasse (quod deus avertat) culpa alicuius aliud  
 requirat: quia presens infirmitas presentem requirit medicinam.  
 Porro studentium in hoc nostro pauperum collegio non potest  
 certus assignari numerus, eo quod crescentibus vel decrescentibus  
 loci facultatibus augeri potest vel minui studentium numerus: 75  
 nempe ut sint in numero denario prout nunc majori vel minori  
 iuxta principalis discretionem.

DE ALIIS IN NOSTRO PAUPERUM COLLEGIO CONVERSARI  
VOLENTIBUS. CAPUT 6.

Si qui vero ex nobilium aut aliarum personarum liberis (acquirende virtutis et scientie causa) pauperum nostrorum cupiant adiungi consortio, non abnuimus: dummodo primum et ante omnia querant regnum dei et iustitiam eius et pro  
 5 tempore sue apud nostros residentie principali et regentibus per omnia morem gerant et nullam per se vel alios hec nostra statuta infringendi prebeant occasionem. Et si qui ex his cum nostris esse volunt commensales sint ut nostri disciplinati et cum ipsis vice sua ad mensam legant aliasque loci laudabiles  
 10 consuetudines benigne et diligenter custodiant: in scholis quoque ac alibi ita versentur omnes ut totus cultus ac integer corporis habitus ad scholasticum decorum \* componatur. De- \* Sic. ficientes quoque non solum per magistrum principalem verum etiam per regentes condigne puniantur, et si culpa hoc exigat  
 15 de loco per principalem expellantur. Et non solum in scholis et lectionibus sed etiam in omni loco precipue vero in cellis regentes oculate intendant studentibus ne sint ociosi, dissoluti, vagi, aut leves moribus, non vestibus utantur secularibus non scissis non plus satis curtis, non utantur birretis viridis rubei  
 20 punicei glauci blavii crocei aut levioris coloris: sed potius vestibus omnibus tam laneis quam lineis utantur que viros graves deceant et clericalis sortis homines: sed nec comam nutriant nec barbam verum sic tondeatur coma ut aurium pars magna videatur. Cum autem ad monasterium ire contigerit (quod  
 25 nulli studentium absque facultate licebit) in navi ecclesie seu versus chorum tempore divini officii confabulando seu procciter incedendo non deambulent: sed potius in locis privatis devotioni aut saltem extra ecclesiam publice disputationi religiose se disponant. Civitatem non frequentent. Locum absque  
 30 licentia nullatenus exeant collationes nocturnas non habeant, cultros et arma invasiva intra locum non gerant, ludis taxillorum aut pile pedalis, aliisve quibuscumque inhonestis vel periculosis nequaquam assuescant: que si fecerint aut quevis alia horum similia (vel fortassis peiora) primo misericorditer corripiantur, 35 deinde nisi sese de cetero emendent de loco expellantur. Re-

gens aut ille qui anno priori prefuit exeuntibus et magisterii gradum capientibus, statim a festo divi michaelis archangeli instruere incipiat novam classem : ad quam omnes post precedentem et ante sequentem cinerum diem venientes advolabunt : et his qui adveniunt intra dictum michaelis festum et precedens 40 pascha regens ille docebit grammaticam poesim seu artem oratoriam vel aliud quidvis secundum principalis directionem. Sed et regentes ac presbiteri attendant ne quid aliqui turpis lucri occasione a quoquam extorqueant. Ad hoc autem magis auscultent ne quid lesure aut incommodi in exeuntium studen- 45 tium reperiatur studiis unquam. Et summe caveant et regentes et capellani ne cum ullis studentibus infra locum vel extra familiaritatem habeant : memores illius, nimia familiaritas contemptum parit. Vacantie consuete non ante festum exaltationis sancte crucis capiantur, nec post festum divi michaelis pro- 50 longentur : nisi aliud fortasse propter victualium caritatem seu aliam quamvis rationabilem causam magistro principali videatur. Demum nobiles omnes et viros ecclesiasticos volentes in hoc nostro pauperum collegio in mensa aut alias quovismodo conversari exhortamur in domino quatenus primum et ante 55 omnia prebeant seipsos bonorum operum exemplum, deinde ad infringendum hec nostra statuta nullam omnino tribuant occasionem, sed cunctos quantum possunt a viciis retrahant et ad virtutis viam semper et ubique calcar admoveant.

#### DE CORRECTIONE DELINQUENTIUM. CAPUT 7.

Statuimus quod singulis sextis feriis pro corrigendis excessibus capitulum teneatur in quo omnium defectus et negligentie debite puniantur. Item volumus notabiliter ociosos acriter puniri. Et si quis sic punitus se non correxerit in presentia totius communitatis sub pena expulsionis semel et secundo 5 moneatur : si autem bina vice taliter admonitus se non correxerit de loco irrevocabiler expellatur. Divinum officium (ut supra dictum est) horis et temporibus constitutis debite celebretur. Et in dominicis ac festis maioribus omnes collegii nostri presbiteros regentes et studentes misse post nonam can- 10 tate ac vespere interesse volumus presertim quum principalis



magister tenebitur celebrare. Diebus autem ferialibus commensales et qui sunt de gremio loci studentes misse de mane post sextam cantate, intersint; et vesperas studentes de fundatione  
15 una cum presbitero vel regente hebdomadario devote persolvant. Salve vero ab omnibus post cenam qualibet nocte decantetur. Venientes etiam ad divinum officium capellani, regentes, et qui sunt de fundatione studentes, mature veniant et devote, in suo quisque superpellicio, saltem in dominicis ac principalibus festis:  
20 sedeantque aut stent (iuxta consuetudinis exigentiam) non tam studentes quam regentes et presbiteri in stallis collateralibus, idque chorus contra chorum et secundum suas etates: nonnulla tamen fiat distantia inter regentes et discipulos propter eam quam eis debent reverentiam: et quo hoc commodius fiat dig-  
25 num ducimus ut duo regentes se collocent in parte australi chori unus (videlicet) in capite primi stalli et alius in fine stallorum inter studentes et altare: et in parte chori boreali alii duo regentes eodem ordine sedeant in quorum medio studentes omnes ordinate collocentur. Si quis autem a divino officio se subtraxerit  
30 debite puniatur: si autem aliquis consuetudinarie abfuerit et bina vice admonitus et sub pena expulsionis se emendare noluerit, de congregatione irrevocabiliter expellatur. Insuper exiens portam sine licentia, vel a socio aut sociis extra locum se sequestrans, si post secundam sibi factam in speciali monitionem se non cor-  
35 rexerit, a loco perpetue removeatur. Sed nec ipsi regentes aut presbiteri (nisi cui incumbit ratione officii) faciant locum exeundi consuetudinem: quod si fecerint per principalem castigentur. Claves etiam posticarum preterquam a magistro principali vel ex eius licentia speciali a nullo penitus habeantur. Preterea  
40 aleator, criminator, libellorum famosorum fabricator, communis potator, calumniator, pacis perturbator aut sociorum percussor si post secundam factam in speciali monitionem sub pena expulsionis se non correxerit, de loco simpliciter removeatur. Pro huiusmodi autem culpis semel commissis secundum magistrorum  
45 discretionem debite puniantur. Porro si quis rem notabilem furtive subtraxerit seu minus notabilem frequenter abstulerit et de hoc convictus fuerit, de loco expellatur. Postremo de inobedientia, rebellione, in civitate pernoctatione, secretorum loci

revelatione, vel de castitatis violatione convictus, sive regens sit, capellanus aut studens de loco simpliciter expellatur. Ut ergo 50 cuncta ista serventur et ne quid ex predictis quod opus habeat correctione impunitum aut incorrectum abeat, ut etiam principali et regentibus addatur stimulus ad invigilandum diligentius super commissos sibi greges volumus hoc nostrum pauperum collegium 55 singulis annis infra octavas divi leonardi collegii ipsius patroni per suppriorem terciumpriorem et alium quemvis canonicum vel saltem per alios quoscumque ex capitulo sanctiandree quos dominus prior duxerit eligendos in capite et membris in spiritu- alibus et temporalibus visitari: et per eosdem volumus integrum collegii rentale cum expensis eiusdem conferri, ne aliquatenus 60 excedant et deficiat communitas: quicquid autem superex- crescens fuerit in fabricam aut alios loci necessarios usus per principalem insumatur: ut vel sic si quid per principalem capel- lanos vel regentes neglectum minusque servatum fuerit saltem per visitatores penis arctioribus reformetur. Si quid vero (quod 65 absit) eorum vires excedere videatur idipsum sine mora ad dominum priorem referatur: qui singula contra hec nostra sta- tuta commissa acriori castigatione reformabit, perpetuum proinde recepturus eterne salutis bravium.

#### DE INFIRMIS ET DEFUNCTORUM SUFFRAGIIS. CAPUT 8.

Languidi quamdiu in languore perstiterint ab oneribus com- munitatis supportentur, immo secundum magistrorum discre- tionem in esculentis et poculentis ac aliis solatiis charitative tractentur. Si autem contingat aliquem infirmitate graviter laborare in camera extra locum utensilibus et aliis munita 5 necessariis per quandam matronam etate ad minus quinquagenariam pudicitia ornatam opinione seu fama illibatam benigne et charitative custodiatur. Predicta autem matrona nullam familiam nisi predictis conditionibus peditam secum aliqua- tenus habitare permittat. Vestimenta etiam linea totius loci a 10 predicta matrona laventur et si opus fuerit resartiantur. Quum vero aliquis ad mortem appropinquat (nisi infirmitas fuerit con- tagiosa) omnes alii vocentur eius exitum deo devotis orationibus commendaturi: vel saltem magna pars illuc vadat secundum

15 principalis discretionem, tempore nichilominus et aliis circum-  
stantiis per eum debite pensatis: eodem etiam tempore infirmus  
sacra unctione muniatur. Si autem contingat aliquem ex hac  
luce discedere cantetur pro eo missa de Requiem \*: private autem \* Sic  
a quolibet sacerdote una missa, et a singulis scolaribus dirige  
20 novem lectionum. In obitu domini iohannis hepburne prioris  
moderni dirige ix lectionum et missa de Requiem solenniter  
cantentur. Singuli etiam sacerdotes in privato dicant octo missas  
singuli vero clericorum quater dirige ix lectionum. In anniver-  
sario domini prioris inperpetuum una missa de mortuis et dirige  
25 ix lectionum ab omnibus solenniter decantentur: a singulis  
autem sacerdotibus una missa dicatur et a singulis clericis dirige  
ix lectionum: ut ipsorum precibus et suffragiis adiutus celorum  
regnum optinere valeat, quo ipsum perducatur qui precioso san-  
guine suo nos redemit Iesus christus dominus noster qui est  
30 super omnia deus benedictus in secula. Amen.

IOHANNES WYNRAM Supprior affirmat predicta sta-  
tuta.

IOHANNES ANNAND canonicus sanctiandree et prin-  
cipalis sanctileonardi affirmat eadem.

THOMAS FYFF sacrista collegii sanctileonardi eadem  
affirmat.

IOHANNES LAUMONTHT provisor dicti collegii affir-  
mat.

IACOBUS WYLKE regens eadem affirmat.

DAVID GULD regens eadem affirmat.

IOANNES SCHEYLL regens eadem approbat.

DAVID GARDYNE regens eadem approbat.

#### CONFIRMATIO PREDICTORUM STATUTORUM.

Omnibus hoc scriptum visuris vel auditoris Iacobus permis-  
sione divina commendatarius perpetuus prioratus sanctiandree:  
Alexander myln eadem permissione abbas de cambuskynne  
et eiusdem prioratus in spiritualibus et temporalibus generalis  
5 pro tempore administrator ac eiusdem loci conventus salutem  
in domino sempiternam. Noveritis nos ad hoc capitulariter



congregatos diligentibus tractatibus et maturis deliberationibus prehabitis precedentia collegii nostri statuta (per bone memorie Iohannem olim priorem sanctiandree predecessorem nostrum in lucem edita et modo per nos utcunque lucidiora effecta) vidisse 10 legisse inspexisse ac in singulis suis clausulis diligenter considerasse. Et quia ipsa utilia rationabilia et conditionibus personarum in prefato nostro pauperum collegio commorantium bene accommodata videmus: ideo ea omnia et singula in universis suis punctis et clausulis commendamus approbamus ratificamus 15 ac confirmamus et a cunctis dicti collegii membris incolisque inviolabiliter et respective (donec nos aliter duxerimus disponendum) observari volumus. In cujus rei testimonium presentibus manibus dictorum duorum commendatarii administratoris, supprioris et magistri principalis subscriptis sigillum commune 20 capituli nostri una cum sigillo dicti collegii in signum consensus et assensus eorum (ut prescribitur) ad premissa est appensum apud dictum monasterium et prefatorum pauperum nostrorum collegium respective die octavo mensis septembris Anno domini millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo quarto. 25

JACOBUS commendatarius prioratus sanctiandree predicta statuta affirmat et ratificat.<sup>1</sup>

ALEXANDER Administrator qui supra manu sua subscripsit.

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<sup>1</sup> This signature is in a small but neat and legible hand.

STATUTES OF THE COLLEGE OF THE POOR  
PERTAINING TO THE WORSHIPFUL PRIOR  
AND CONVENT OF THE PRIORY OF SAINT  
ANDREWS AND SITUATE NEAR THE CHURCH  
OF SAINT LEONARD.

PREFACE.

Let all things (saith the Apostle Paul) be done among you decently and in order. By these words of the Apostle faithful Christians are instructed that they should observe an ordered rule of living; and though we learn that they were spoken to all in general, yet they seem to fit those above all who are in tender and youthful years, to whom some order and regular manner of life should be communicated for fear that their age being unripe (and therefore of its own nature inclined to vice) may go headlong for lack of discipline. To the which opinion Esaias the prophet doth give his authority, saying "The lambs shall feed after their manner,"\* by "lambs" without doubt\* Is. v. 17. understanding them that are young, for whom an order is to be appointed in such wise that by an ordered direction of life in body and soul they may be fed alway not so much with carnal food as with spiritual. Wherefore we, John Hepburn, Prior of Saint Andrews, following the teaching of Saint Peter the Apostle, who as we read in the Acts of the Apostles "beginning expounded to them the order,"\* on the advice and\* Acts xi. 4. assent of our brethren have composed a short order of life for the poor Scholars, Priests and Regents of the College of Saint Andrew the Apostle, situate near the Church of Saint Leonard; the which here below set down we do will should be kept by all unbroken.

## I.—OF THE MANNER OF ADMISSION.

We make statute and ordinance that he who would be received in our College of the Poor on the Friday after his admission by the Lord Prior should approach the Master Principal of the College, praying on bended knee for the love of Our Lord Jesus Christ to be admitted to that holy society: that the Principal on his part after that with the Subprior and the third Prior he has diligently examined him in the grammar and inquired with much care also concerning the honesty of his life and the sobriety of his character, likewise concerning his poverty of things temporal, if they find him well grounded in the grammar, to have finished, that is, the first and second parts, or at least the great portion of the second part,<sup>1</sup> and to be involved in no secular disgrace or crime, to be lacking in things temporal, endowed with sobriety of character, well skilled in the art of writing and sufficiently instructed in the Gregorian Chant, should readily send him to the Lord Prior with a letter of commendation subscribed by himself and the two aforesaid. None may be admitted by the Lord Prior unless he has been first examined by the persons aforesaid and sent to him: none may be directed to the Prior by them unless he has been found proper and sufficient in the grammar and in other conditions and circumstances aforesaid, as the Examiners themselves would shun the

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<sup>1</sup> The Council at Edinburgh in 1549 (*Stat. Eccl. Scot.*, ii., 105) urged Rectors of Universities to see to it "ne ulli ad scholas Dialectices sive Artium recipiantur nisi qui Latine et grammaticæ loquuntur"; and directed the Archdeacon of St. Andrews to provide a Grammar School Master for that city. There seems to have been a difficulty in keeping up the standard of grammatical knowledge. In 1516 (*Act. Fac. Art.*) examiners had to be appointed by the Faculty to test students in grammar before they should proceed to the *Summulæ*; and at St. Leonards after the Reformation (*Ev.*, iii., 190, 195) there was a tendency to undertake the work of the schoolmaster. At St. Marys in 1554 a higher standard was set for the foundationers in Arts—"ut expedite apto sermone tam disputando quam respondendo cuncta exprimere queant" (*Ev.*, iii., 363).



vengeance of God : none may be received by pleading, payment, or at the supplication or appeal of any person religious or secular,<sup>1</sup> unless he is otherwise sufficient and proper, on the pain of eternal cursing : nay more, if a number offer, he who by rigour of examination is judged to excel in knowledge and in other  
 25 conditions required, must be directly preferred to all others.<sup>2</sup> None may be received under fifteen years of age or above twenty-one :<sup>3</sup> those also who by the charities of other faithful Christians are established in our College of the Poor, must be qualified just as ours, as ours be received, as ours be bound to  
 30 observe the several statutes of the College, and along with ours be placed two and two in studies or cells of the lower house and on the south side thereof.<sup>4</sup>

## II.—OF DIVINE SERVICE.

Each week let there be appointed one to awaken them, from Easter till the Exaltation of the Holy Rood \* at five, from the \* Sep. 14. Exaltation till Easter at half-past five. So at the ringing of the bell on feast-days let them come to the Choir, hear the first  
 5 Mass (which the Hebdomadar of the preceding week shall

<sup>1</sup> A similar regulation will be found at St. Salvators (*Ev.*, iii., 272) and at King's, Aberdeen (*ibid.*, iv., 136).

<sup>2</sup> A close scholarship was founded in 1536 by Peter Sandelandis (see Introduction) for persons of the name : a man who presumably held the scholarship in 1550-51 gave the authorities much trouble (see Visitation).

<sup>3</sup> Hepburn is quite definite on this matter. In the Statutes of the Faculty of Arts (Univ. MS.) it was provided that a man might "determine" at fourteen, which implies his coming up at twelve or twelve and a half, "ubi concurrunt commoditas, necessitas, morum probitas et scientie claritas". This is an old statute, but it was still standing in the sixteenth century.

<sup>4</sup> These new foundationers, such as the Sandelandis bursar, must be clearly distinguished from the "commensales" who are not to be quartered with the "caputiati" or students "de gremio loci" (see Visitations of 1544 and 1545); but it was not always possible to carry out this regulation, as will be seen by reference to the Latin text. This point is noticed in the Introduction.

celebrate without chanting) and in great devoutness read the morning office of the Blessed Virgin and other devotional exercises: at nine on feast-days let the bell be rung for High Mass<sup>1</sup> (which the Hebdomadar shall chant), and let them sing it devoutly and slow with the Gregorian Chant. But on common days when one Mass only is held due, let High Mass be 10 chanted by the Hebdomadar at six, and that with the intent that they may be more free for lessons and studies in good letters.<sup>2</sup> At three each day let the bell ring for Vespers, which they are to perform likewise with the Gregorian Chant in devoutness, without cutting their words and without vain or impertinent converse.<sup>3</sup> At seven let the bell ring for Salve, the which with 15

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<sup>1</sup> For the phrase, "summa missa," which was apparently not very common in Continental usage (*v. Du Cange, Missa*), *cf. Liber Coll. de Glasgu*, p. 56, where we find the phrase, "alta missa sive summa missa": this is further described as "cum cantu solenni Gregoriano vel discantu cum organorum modulatione et lusu prout tempus exigit". From Aberdeen (*Ev.*, iv., p. 145 [1530]) we have "summa missa cum cantu". The expression "principale et summum altare," used of St. Leonard's Church (College Altarages), no doubt indicates the origin of the phrase.

<sup>2</sup> It will be noted that Hepburn in this matter follows the tendencies "in domibus reformatis," as referred to by Richardinus of Cambuskenneth (see Introduction). The latter says (*Exegesis*, 87) with some warmth, "Bone Deus quantum ocii boni hisce temporibus in Anglia et Scotia in una missa cantanda inaniter conterunt; quarum tres ut in plurimum singulis diebus celebrant ita ut nec sacris literis nec aliis literis locus reliquus est".

<sup>3</sup> *Cf. Corp. Jur. Canon. Clem.*, v., 3, 14, 1, where the habits of some are referred to: "transcurrendo, syncopando, extranea quidem et plerumque vana, profana et inhonesta intermiscendo colloquia, tarde ad chorum conveniendo seu ecclesiam absque rationabili causa ante finem officii exeundo frequenter". See the Visitation of 1545 on the manner of saying Mass. In the "Formulare" (f. 277) we find the Prebendaries of a collegiate church exhorted "sine discursu murmure risu et absque vanis et vagis aspectibus sub silentio in pace et cum debita dignitate cantent et usque in finem unanimiter perseverent".

the commemoration of St. Andrew and the Blessed Leonard they shall all sing aloud. Likewise every Lord's day they are to say in the Choir a Dirige of nine lessons for their founders and benefactors, and this two and two together. Furthermore, let them confess each month, and at the feasts of the Lord's  
 20 Nativity, Easter, Pentecost, and the Assumption of the Glorified Virgin, let them all receive in great devoutness the Sacrament of the Most Holy Eucharist after the sacramental confession.

### III.—OF THE MANNER OF LIVING IN COLLEGE.

We will that a lesson be read at seven in the morning on each common day by the Principal or one of the Regents in turn and at the discretion of the Principal only, as that shall seem to him to be expedient and profitable and of advantage for the  
 5 students: whereto all students (as the Principal may direct) should obediently resort. Further, each chair,<sup>1</sup> at a time appointed by the Master thereof, should hold its proper lesson. Likewise thrice in the week after dinner a competent lesson should be held in Grammar, Verse,<sup>2</sup> Rhetoric, or out of the books of Solomon <sup>3</sup> by one of the Regents in turn and as the

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<sup>1</sup> A University document of 1538 (*Ev.*, iii., 357) speaks of the "salaria illorum qui inibi cathedras pro tempore regent". At St. Marys in 1554 (*Ev.*, iii., 363) the term "professor" is official—"philosophie professores vulgo regentes dicti".

<sup>2</sup> Archbishop Forman ("Formulare," f. 189) granted a pension of £50 Scots to a Frenchman "pro ulteriori continua lectura et doctrina in arte poetica seu oratoria" in the University of St. Andrews. In 1690 (*Ev.*, iii., 222) we find a complaint about "the great decay of Poesie and of abilitie to make verse": some skill in Latin verse should now, it is suggested, be a qualification of the schoolmaster.

<sup>3</sup> Hepburn seems to have had a great belief in the wisdom of Solomon: it has been pointed out in the Introduction that a book of Solomon was not prescribed by the Faculty of Arts. Hay in his Panegyric to Beaton (1540, fols. 59-60) mentions among the conditions of true philosophic teaching "si de moribus recte instituendis praecepta tradant," and recommends the use of "short aphorisms".



Principal shall ordain, but not on Saturday, that they may be 10 more free on that day for disputations. At eleven and five on each common day the bell must be rung for Rule,<sup>1</sup> after which the guilty are to receive meet punishment. Likewise on the Saturdays at two the bell should be duly rung for disputa- 15 tions.<sup>2</sup> After supper on common days let repetitions<sup>3</sup> be held, but especially in the summer season and at the direction of the Principal. We will that before they proceed to the degree of Master they hear Logic, Physics, Philosophy, Metaphysic, and the books of Ethics, or at least in place of these some one of the books of Solomon. Furthermore, we will that all, without dis- 20 tinction, speak Latin, and that occasion for the vulgar tongue be removed we direct that none abide in the place, except the cook and his boy, who will not conform to the other students in the matter of speaking Latin.<sup>4</sup> They must also accustom themselves to speak everywhere with moderation, gently, becomingly, and with gravity. From the triple stroke of the bell after Salve 25 until the awakening in the morning, not to disturb the others, they may speak only in a low voice. Further, daily about eight each student is to have four ounces of bread: for dinner the bell is to sound at a half-past eleven, at which each is to have 30 eight ounces of bread and a chapin\* of suitable drink: at supper (for which the bell shall be rung at a half-past five) the measure of bread and drink is to be as at dinner. Again, on

A half pint  
Scots.

<sup>1</sup> The precise objects of the meeting are not clear, for (*vid.*, cap. 7) a weekly "capitulum" is held on Fridays, at which delinquents receive punishment. Perhaps this daily inquisition was held by each Regent over his own class, and was concerned with the ordinary work rather than with more serious questions of college discipline.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. King's College, Aberdeen (*Ev.*, iv., 148).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid.* (1530): "singulis diebus legibilibus quibus leguntur artes fiant bis in die quaestiones et semel reparationes". The technicality "reparationes" seems to have been specially Parisian (*v.* Du Cange, *sub voc.*), and it was very common in St. Andrews.

<sup>4</sup> Repeated references to this regulation show that it was little observed as the Reformation approached: some faint idea of the jargon may be derived from a reading of the Visitations.

the flesh days they are always to be treated at dinner to broth or vegetables with a dish of flesh: at supper let them have  
35 a soup with chopped flesh therein and a suitable dish of flesh besides; and on fish days let them have vegetables at dinner, and at both dinner and supper let them be nourished with two courses of fish or the equal thereof. On fast days each may have twelve ounces of bread, likewise three pints<sup>1</sup> of drink  
40 with three courses of fish and broth therewith. Let the Fasts of the Church be observed unbroken by those who have attained their twenty-first year; but the younger up to their eighteenth year we will not compel to fast except at the Vigils of the Lord's Nativity, Easter, Pentecost, the Assumption of the Glorified  
45 Virgin, All Saints, Saint Andrew the Apostle, and on the Fridays in Lent: those who are at their eighteenth year are to add the Wednesdays in Lent. In the evening on fast days let each have for collation a chapin of drink with four ounces of bread; on the other vigils or days of Lent let them have one course of  
50 fish for collation with the bread and drink usual when there is no fast. At the table of the community there is to be reading of Holy Scripture or other matter, moral or historical, continuous or successive, as the Principal may direct; and one on the foundation is to read at the beginning, one of the Com-  
55 moners at the end, of dinner and supper;<sup>2</sup> and on Fridays at

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<sup>1</sup>The word "quatuor" has been omitted in translation, as it makes the passage quite unintelligible unless we adopt the desperate remedy of translating "singuli quatuor" by "each student four ounces at each meal". I conjecture that in the earlier copy of the Statutes on which the revision of 1544 was based and from which the present scribe was no doubt copying, the word "quatuor" appeared perhaps indistinctly deleted, and that this was due to the fact that the original draft was going on to add the "four ounces" which were to be served out for collation on fast days (see a few sentences farther on), but reserved the provision for a later sentence without making it clear that "quatuor" should now be omitted.

<sup>2</sup>"Quod institutum," says Richardinus (f. 102), "a multis huiusce aetatis praelatis omnino contemnitur": Myln had insisted on

dinner we direct that these our statutes be read.<sup>1</sup> Two Students by turn shall serve in the community, one for the cups and the other from the kitchen, and they shall eat with the cook after the common meal. Besides we direct that each Saturday the whole place shall be scoured or cleaned by four students, taking 60 their turn : likewise that the windows or glasses, canopies, altars and walls be cleared of spiders' webs and other filth by the diligent labours of all the students twice in the year, to wit, before the Lord's Nativity and Easter. Likewise let there be appointed one of the Priests, a man mature and devout, as principal 65 Sacrist,<sup>2</sup> who is to have the cure of the Church and parishioners, and under whom, or another chaplain, or one of the Regents for the time being Hebdomadar, one of the students is to serve each week and chant the Epistle at Mass. Likewise at eight in the evening, winter and summer, the chambers are to be diligently visited by the Master Principal or by one of the Regents, 70 who shall take it in turn with him.

#### IV.—OF GOING OUTSIDE THE COLLEGE.

We ordain that there be appointed as Janitor of the outer gate, one on the foundation, a poor student or care-taker, to open the gate in summer at five, and close it after Salve at nine : the rest of the year, in the winter that is to say, it is

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the custom at Cambuskenneth, especially "*hisce diebus quibus pisabus vesci solemus*": on other days the reading was at the beginning and the end of dinner : "*melius tamen faceret si lectio sacra continuaretur*". The word "continue" in our Statutes evidently does not refer to reading throughout the meal, but to the fact that one book or subject only may be read.

<sup>1</sup> The copy of the revised Statutes in the Chartulary was used for this purpose : on the margin of the "confirmatio" is written "non legatur in tabula". The amount of attention paid or intelligence exerted may be inferred from the fact that the word "parvulum" in this chapter had been omitted in copying and has been inserted by a quite modern hand.

<sup>2</sup> This office is noticed in the Introduction.



to be opened at six and closed at eight in the evening :<sup>1</sup> and  
5 this Janitor (unless he wear the hood) is to fill the cups at table  
for the students who are on the foundation. The keys, when  
the gate is closed in the evening, he must hand to the Master  
Principal and get them from him to open in the morning. No  
one from without, in especial no dishonest or worthless fellow,  
may be granted entrance without license of the Master Prin-  
10 cipal. In particular we will not have any woman set foot in  
our place, save the common laundress, who must be fifty years  
at the least, because, saith Hieronymus, he cannot abide with  
God with his whole heart who is not free from the approaches  
of women.<sup>2</sup> Further he must not suffer any student to go out  
15 or women to come in (except as has been said) on pain of  
immediate expulsion from the College. If, however, he suffer  
any other person to enter without license of the Principal, he is  
to be duly punished at the discretion of the same. Let none  
presume to pass out wanting the special license of the Master  
Principal or of his own Regent, nor are they to grant it to any  
20 but for reasonable and worthy cause and after they have ap-  
pointed him a companion, to make sure testimony to chaste  
and seemly conduct. When they go anywhere in the City, let  
them always put on gown and hood. But for formal acts, all  
must set out together to the Pædagogium : in Lent let it suffice  
25 that only the Bachelors to be confirmed go thither for the pur-  
pose of examination. When there are general processions all  
must come to procession devoutly and timeously, clad in sur-  
plices or collobia<sup>3</sup> at the discretion of the Principal. The Heb-

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<sup>1</sup> At St. Salvators the gates were closed at eight in winter and at ten in summer, opened at five and four ; the same rule obtained at King's, Aberdeen.

<sup>2</sup> Richardinus (f. 164) discusses the problem of laundry work ; in some Houses "quot sunt fratres tot habent distinctas mulieres eorum lavantes vestes cum quibus contrahunt familiaritates".

<sup>3</sup> The "collobium" is vaguely described as a gown without sleeves, see Macalister, *Ecclesiastical Vestments* (p. 256), who abridges Prof. E. C. Clark on Mediæval University costume in *Archæological Journal*, vol. 50.

domadar also for the Epistle shall carry a Cross and two juniors are to bear candlesticks. Likewise every week all students of the place (one of the Masters bearing them company) are to go together to the links, and after carrying through their sports (which must be honest games) they are to return together to Vespers; and it shall not be lawful for any to separate himself from the rest up to the time when all come home. But if they get indulgence more than once a week to take their play on the links (which, however, we altogether discourage), then the foundationers must be put by the Principal to some honest toil in the garden or elsewhere. Keeping the gates, filling the cups, or serving at table are duties confined to foundationers only, unless haply the work be too heavy and the Principal see fit to appoint them additional help. Women are forbidden utterly to enter our College except in the case mentioned and when there is a procession: at no time whatsoever may they enter the inner offices.

#### V.—OF THE MASTER PRINCIPAL, CHAPLAINS AND REGENTS.

We direct also that from the College of our brethren, to wit from the Chapter of Saint Andrews, and by the Prior thereof in all time to come some one Canon, a man of weight, prudence and learning, Doctor, Licentiate, or Bachelor in Sacred Letters, or any other learned Canon from the Chapter of Saint Andrews, be chosen and nominated, be set over our said College of the Poor and be styled Master Principal of the place. All others, Priests, Regents and Scholars must humbly obey him, hearken diligently to his admonitions and directions, receive in kindness from him corrections for their faults, and always and everywhere regard and hold him in that reverence which is seemly. Also the individual officials of the place, as often as he may direct, are to render account to him of the College possessions. He himself is in duty bound to show once a year to the Lord Prior an account of the property.<sup>1</sup> And at the greater festivals he

<sup>1</sup> By Canon Law the administrator of an Hospital had to render an annual account: Van Espen, *Jus. Eccl.*, Pt. ii., 37, 4, 5.

shall chant Vespers with Mass and the Collects after Salve,  
15 and on every Wednesday and Friday he shall teach scholarly  
and circumspectly to Priests, Regents, and whosoever else desire  
to be present, a lesson in Sacred Letters or in Speculative  
Theology. There are to be besides in the College two devout  
Priests, of whom one (as has been said) is to watch over  
spiritual affairs, the other, temporal. The former is to be  
20 Curate and Sacrist, the latter Provisor and Procurator in things  
temporal. These two along with the Regents must chant  
regularly and devoutly Vespers, Masses, and the Collects after  
Salve, at the lesser feasts, on the Lord's day, and on common  
days, taking week about.

The Regents are to be four in number, or less, as the re-  
25 sources of the place are able to bear and the Master Principal  
may judge to be expedient. To the office of Regent they shall  
be appointed and admitted by the Lord Prior and the Master  
Principal of the College for the time being. Also straightway  
on admission and in the very article thereof they shall take oath  
30 of fidelity and obedience, to wit, to will and act for the common  
weal of the place, to instruct the youth in good manners and  
salutary learning, to obey the Master Principal of the College  
in things lawful and honourable, especially in those which re-  
strain vice and promote virtue, and to receive correction for  
35 their faults if there be any failure to observe the ordinances  
of the place which concern them. On admission, any one so  
admitted shall teach his class every day, at least every com-  
mon day, three or certainly two ordinary lessons, of which also  
he shall receive account; and they shall speedily correct the  
ignorant and the defaulters: and not only that, but any of the  
40 class transgressing the Statutes of our College they should punish  
as their faults may require without delay (yet deliberately  
withal and humanely and with mercy); and if aught exceed  
their power, it should be intimated at once and without delay  
to the Master Principal, who has the care of the whole College.  
45 The Principal, Priests and Regents for their labours shall have  
chambers within the place and daily victuals, honourably, as is  
becoming: and the said Regents also are to sit at the same



table, eat of the same dish (so far as may be), have the same drink and enjoy the same confections, sit down with them and rise up, and so dispose themselves in general as that the younger men always give honour and affection to the elder. 50 And besides victuals and what is owing to him from the Monastery the Principal shall have for annual stipend ten pounds and a young servitor, who is to help the butler at the great table. Each of the Priests and Regents is to have ten merks, unless haply some of them have altarages, who in that 55 case shall be paid as has been said, or according to the tenor of the foundation and union of their altarage, and that agreeably to the merit or otherwise of Priest or Regent, providing also that the better positions, so far as it is possible, are to be assigned to the most deserving and at the discretion of the Principal; and the rental of the place, common books, muni- 60 ments, lists of valuables or inventories be properly preserved in a fitting place of safety by the Principal with the advice of two or three Canons;<sup>1</sup> nor shall it be considered a trouble if the Principal on each day after supper receive the daily account of expenses from the Provisor, with the assistance of one or two persons on the foundation. It shall not be lawful for a 65 Priest or a Regent to retire from an office once accepted unless the Master Principal have three months notice, save in a case where some special advantage offers: nor may the Master Principal remove any from office without the same warning of three months, unless haply (which God forbend) a 70 man's fault demand otherwise; for a present infirmity doth require a present cure. Further, as regards the students in this our College of the Poor, no certain number can be given because that, as the resources of the place increase or decrease, the number of students can be made greater or less: let them 75 be in number over ten as at present, more or less, at the discretion of the Principal.

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<sup>1</sup> This illustrates the very indefinite relation between the Chapter and the College: the head of the College is conceived as a member of the Chapter temporarily charged with a specific duty.

## VI.—OF OTHERS WHO ELECT TO LIVE IN OUR COLLEGE OF THE POOR.

If any sons of noblemen or of others (for the getting of virtue and knowledge) desire to be joined to the company of our poor men, we forbid not: provided first and above all that they seek the kingdom of God and his righteousness and for 5 the time of their residence with us pay heed in all things to the Principal and Regents and furnish no occasion through themselves or others of breaking these our Statutes. And if any such elect to be Commoners with our Students, let them be disciplined as ours are and with them read at table in their 10 turn and observe pleasantly and with diligence other laudable usages of the place: in the schools also and elsewhere let them all so comport themselves that their behaviour and attire be in everything agreeable to scholastic propriety. Defaulters, moreover, are to suffer meet punishment, not only from the Master Principal, but also from the Regents, and if the wrong 15 demand it, are to be expelled from the place by the Principal. And not only in schools and lessons, but everywhere, especially in their cells, the Regents are to keep a watchful eye upon the students that they be not idle, undisciplined, truant, or of unsteady character: they are not to wear secular garb, to have their clothes slashed, or too short: they are not to wear caps 20 of green, red, purple, grey, blue, yellow, or lightish colour, but rather adopt all the vestments, woollen and linen, that become sober men and people of the clerkly sort<sup>1</sup>: they must not cultivate their hair or a beard, but their hair is to be cut so as to show the great part of the ears.<sup>2</sup> When they go to the

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<sup>1</sup> Richardinus (f. 117) recommends that robes "non sint varii coloris rubri nec fuscii nec viridis": the decree "de vestibus" of the Council at Edinburgh in 1549 (*Stat. Eccl. Scot.*, ii., 89) speaks of "colores prohibiti, ut flavus viridis et id genus discoloris".

<sup>2</sup> The Diocesan Synod in Forman's time (*Stat. Eccl. Scot.*, i., 277), speaks of clergy "comis protensis barbis nutritis" as a disgrace; the Council at Edinburgh in 1549 (*ibid.*, ii., 90), decrees "ut clerici a laicis distincti appareant eorum barbas tondendas curent".

Monastery (which shall be lawful for no student without permission) they must not walk about in the Nave of the Church, 25 or towards the Choir at the time of divine service, talking or swaggering, but rather dispose themselves piously in private places for devotion or at any rate without the Church for public disputation. They are not to frequent the town. They must by no means leave the place without permission ; they are not to hold feasting at night, wear knives or weapons 30 of offence within the walls, play dice at all, or football, or any other dishonest or dangerous games ; if they do this or the like (or if it be aught worse), let them at the first offence be mercifully chastised,<sup>1</sup> then unless they amend their ways thereafter, let them be expelled the place. 35

The Regent, or he who in the foregoing year was in charge of those leaving and taking the degree of Master, is to begin from the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel \* instructing a new class, to which all coming after the preceding and before the following Ash Wednesday shall betake themselves, and to those who come between the said feast of Michael and the 40 preceding Easter, that Regent shall teach Grammar, Verse or Rhetoric, or whatever else the Principal may direct.<sup>2</sup> But both the Regents and the Priests must see to it lest any persons extort aught from any one, taking occasion of base gain. They must give the more heed to this that no hurt or disadvantage be found at any time in the studies of the students 45 who are leaving. And most of all both Regents and Chaplains must beware of familiarity with any students within or

\* Sep. 29.

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<sup>1</sup> This seems to be the force of the word ; we find the phrase, " *corrugia seu virga corripere*," in the Minutes of the Faculty of Arts. " *Nihil usitatus in regulis monasticis quam virgarum inflictio* " (Van Espen., *Jus. Eccl.*, i., 31, 3, 22) ; and it may be gathered from the Visitation of 1551 that fasting was regarded as a more severe penalty than corporal punishment.

<sup>2</sup> It was ordained in 1579 (*Ev.*, iii., 184) that each Regent should " continue in his own profession " ; but it would seem from a Visitation in 1588 (*ibid.*, 195), that at St. Leonards old custom died hard.



without the place, mindful that too much familiarity breeds contempt. The usual vacations are not to be taken before the  
 50 feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Rood,\* or prolonged after \* Sep. 14.  
 the feast of Saint Michael,\* unless haply the Master Principal \* Sep. 29.  
 deem otherwise because of dearness of victuals or other reasonable cause.<sup>1</sup> Finally, all noblemen and ecclesiastics electing to sit at table in this our College of the Poor, or otherwise to live  
 55 therein, we exhort in the Lord that first and above all they show themselves an ensample of good works, secondly that they furnish no occasion at all to break these our Statutes, but restrain all so far as they are able from vice and spur them on alway and everywhere to a life of virtue.

#### VII.—OF THE CORRECTION OF DEFAULTERS.

We ordain that each Friday a Chapter be held to correct excesses, in which the faults and omissions of all are to be duly punished. We direct that notorious idlers be punished sharply; and if any so punished amend not, that he be admonished once  
 5 and again before the whole community under threat of expulsion: if after being admonished thus for the second time he do not amend, he is to be expelled irrevocably from the place. Divine service (as has been said above) is to be celebrated duly at the appointed hours and times, and on the Lord's days and greater feasts we direct that all Priests, Regents and Stu-  
 10 dents of our College be present at the Mass sung after the

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<sup>1</sup> At King's, Aberdeen (*Ev.*, iv., 137) there are to be "nullae vacantiae"; it is laid down for St. Marys in 1554 (*Ev.*, iii., 364) "ut illae feriae quas vacantias vocant penitus tollantur cum manifeste constet ab ejusmodi otio boni nihil juventuti verum plurimum incommodi evenire neque in alium finem excogitatas esse quam ut Provisorum avaritiae juvenum inconstantiae et pigritiae praceptorum indulgeatur". In 1579 (*Ev.*, iii., 184), vacation had to be limited to September for St. Salvators and St. Leonards; in 1588 (*ibid.*, 195), the students at St. Leonards had August and September, and rebelled against an attempt to curtail the period; it was pointed out on the latter occasion that the College revenue required a vacation of at least one month.

ninth hour, and at Vespers, especially when the Master Principal shall be in duty bound to celebrate. On ordinary days Commoners and Students on the foundation are to be present at the Mass sung in the morning after the sixth hour, and Students on the foundation with the Hebdomadard Priest or Regent are piously to hold Vespers. Salve is to be sung by 15 all each night after supper. The Chaplains, Regents and Students on the foundation coming to divine service are to come timeously and devoutly, each in his surplice, at least on Lord's days and at the chief feasts: they must sit or stand (as usage requires), Regents and Priests rather than Students in stalls 20 side by side, choir over against choir and according to their ages: let there be, however, some distance between Regents and pupils for the reverence that the pupils owe them, and that this be more conveniently done we think right that two Regents should take their place on the south side of the choir, 25 to wit, one at the head of the first stall and the other at the end of the stalls between the Students and the Altar, and that on the north side of the Choir other two Regents should sit in the same order between whom all the Students are to bestow themselves orderly.<sup>1</sup> If any absent himself from divine service, let him be duly punished: if any be absent habitually and after 30 two admonitions and under threat of expulsion refuse to amend, let him be expelled irrevocably from the society. Furthermore he who passes the gate without license or secludes himself from his companion or companions without the walls is to be finally removed from the place if he do not amend after a second special admonition. Neither let the Regents or Priests (unless 35 it is incumbent by reason of their office) make a practice of going outside the place: if they do, they are to be corrected by the Principal. Also the keys of the gates are to be had by none unless at the hands of the Master Principal or by his special permission. Furthermore a dicer, one who brings charges, maker of scandalous libels, common drunkard, mali-40

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<sup>1</sup> Similar regulations will be found in *Ev.*, iv., 146 (King's, Aberdeen, 1530) and *Ev.*, iii., 364 (St. Marys, 1554).

cious accuser, disturber of the peace, striker of his companions, if he do not amend upon a second special admonition under threat of expulsion, is to be removed from the place without more ado. For single faults of this sort they are to be duly  
45 punished according to the discretion of the masters. Further, if any theftuously abstract a thing of value or frequently remove a thing less valuable and be convicted, he must be expelled the place. Finally, any one convicted of disobedience, insubordination, absence at night in the town, revealing the secrets of the place, or unchastity, whether Regent, Chaplain, or Student, is  
50 to be expelled the place without more ado. Therefore that all these your Statutes may be observed and lest any of the aforesaid faults which needs correction pass unpunished and uncorrected, also that the Principal and Regents may be the more stirred up to watch diligently over the flocks committed to them, we direct that this our College of the Poor be visited,  
55 head and members, affairs spiritual and temporal, in the octave of Saint Leonard, patron of the College, by the Subprior, the third Prior and any other Canon, or at least by any others of the Chapter of Saint Andrews whom the Lord Prior may see fit to choose; and the whole rental of the College be compared  
60 by them with the expenses thereof, lest these be excessive and the community be at a loss. Whatsoever surplus there may be is to be applied by the Principal for the fabric or other necessary uses of the place. Thus<sup>1</sup> even if so be that aught is found to have been neglected or improperly observed by the Principal, Chaplains, or Regents, it may be reformed by the Visitors with  
65 more stringent penalties. If aught indeed (which heaven forbid) seem to exceed their powers, let it be referred without delay to the Lord Prior, who will correct breaches of these our Statutes with more severity, as he will receive for ever the reward of eternal salvation.

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<sup>1</sup> The punctuation of the Latin text is clearly incorrect; we may suspect that this clause followed the word "visitari" above and that the intervening provisions are additions due to the gradual assumption of administrative powers by the College.



VIII.—OF THE SICK AND OF PRAYERS FOR THE  
DEPARTED.

The sick are to be delivered from the burdens of the community so long as they remain in sickness, nay at the discretion of the Masters they are to be treated with indulgence in food and drink and other comforts. If any be in sore sickness, let him be kept with kindness and indulgence in a chamber without the place provided with furniture and other 5 necessaries and tended by a Matron of fifty years and no less, a good woman of unblemished character and repute. The Matron aforesaid must not have any household dwelling with her if they fulfil not the same conditions. Also the linen of the whole place is to be washed by the Matron aforesaid and if 10 need be repaired. When any draws nigh to death all the rest are to be summoned (unless his sickness be contagious) to commend his departure to God by devout prayers, or at least let the great part go thither at the direction of the Principal, after he has duly considered the time and other circumstances: 15 at the same time too the sick man is to be fortified by Holy Unction. If it happen that one depart this life, let there be sung for him a Requiem Mass, and in private one Mass by each Priest and by the individual Scholars a Dirige of nine lessons. At the death of the worshipful John Hepburn, the present Prior, 20 a Dirige of nine lessons and a Requiem Mass are to be solemnly sung. Also the individual Priests are to say in private eight Masses and each of the Clerks a Dirige of nine lessons four times. On the anniversary of the Lord Prior for ever after they are all to sing solemnly one Mass for the dead and a Dirige of nine lessons: by each Priest one Mass is to be said and 25 by each Clerk a Dirige of nine lessons; that by the help of their supplications and prayers he may obtain the Kingdom of Heaven, whither may He who hath redeemed us by His own precious blood lead him safe, even Jesus Christ our Lord who is over all things God blessed for ever.

AMEN.

CHARTER OF CONFIRMATION BY CARDINAL  
BEATON.<sup>1</sup>

DAVID Miseratione divina tituli sancti Stephani In Celio  
monte Sancte Romane ecclesie presbyter cardinalis Sancti-  
andree Archiepiscopus tocius Regni scotie primas apostolice  
sedis Legatus natus Ac per Universum regnum predictum  
eiusdem sedis de latere Legatus Ad futuram rei memoriam In  
apostolice Legationis culmine Licet supra vires et merita ex  
apostolice sedis benignitate constituti Circa pastoralis officii  
debitum salubriter adimplendum assidue vigilantes de statu  
collegiorum quorumlibet presertim infra almam nostram sancti-  
10 andree universitatem pie fundatorum in quibus per assiduum  
studium adipisci valeat illa scientie margarita que bene beateque  
vivendi viam prebet Ac peritum ab Imperito sua preciositate  
Longe facit excellere et similem deo reddit suffragatur indoctis  
et in infimo loco natos evehit In sublimes et per quam fides  
catholica tueretur et Roboraretur christiana vigeret Religio

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<sup>1</sup>The Latin is printed here without contractions; an attempt has been made to follow the writer's mannerisms in the use of capitals. The copying of the Charter of James IV., which is quoted at length in this document, but which is not printed here, is exceedingly inexact. Apparently the version of that Charter to be found in Volume III. of the Evidence laid before the Commissioners (1837) and reprinted verbatim for the last Universities Commission has been taken from the present document and punctuated without much intelligence. Some features of the Charter of Cardinal Beaton are noticed in the Introduction. It should be observed particularly that owing to a careless blunder of the person who transcribed the document for the Commissioners the date was given as 1544 instead of 1545.

verbum dei in christifidelium cordibus habundantius seminaretur  
 Ac pestiferorum hereticorum et heresiarcharum heresibus et  
 scismatibus que prohdolor hiis temporibus In hiis et aliis  
 diversis mundi partibus pullularunt et viguerunt daretur obvia  
 et prudentie ac scientie virtus polleret Et propterea sedes 20  
 apostolica rerum spiritualium et etiam temporalium provida

Sc. fastigium.

conditionis *fastidium* acquirendum et acquisitum In alios re-  
 fundendum inducantur eos hortatur Illis Loca preparat Illos  
 Iuvat et fovet Ac hiis que pro ipsorum commodo et utilitate  
 perpetuoque decore et venustate Ac personarum quarumlibet  
 in Illis divinis Laudibus ac literarum studiis et scientiis adipis-  
 scendis Insistentium commoditate per eorundem fundatores et  
 prelatos presertim per que divinus cultus ad dei Laudem pro  
 animarum fundatorum huiusmodi salute In eisdem Augmen- 30

Sc. suscipiat.

tum *suscipiant* provide facta concessa et ordinata comperit ut  
 firma perpetuo et Illibata persistent Libenter apostolici muni-  
 minis adiicit firmitatem Ac foundationes dotationes erectiones  
 Creationes Incorporationes uniones Annexationes et illarum  
 confirmationes Ac Approbationes donationes concessionem et  
 infeodationes necnon et provisiones institutiones distributiones-  
 que mandata statuta voluntates constitutiones ordinationes et  
 decreta que sacris canonibus contraria non existunt per funda-  
 tores et prelatos ipsos pro tempore facta et condita extendit et  
 ampliat officiique sui partes ad hec favorabiliter Imparciatur 40  
 Ad Illos quoque dextram sue Liberalitatis extendit et sue  
 protectionis favore confovet quos ad id propria virtutum merita  
 multipliciter recommendant Et prout personarum et Locorum  
 ac temporum conditionibus et qualitatibus diligenter consider-  
 atis conspicit in domino salubriter expedire Sane nobis nuper  
 pro parte dilectorum nobis in christo magistri Iohannis Annand  
 Canonici professi ecclesie nostre metropolitane et primitialis  
 sanctiandree ordinis sancti Augustini in sacra theologia  
 Licentiati Magistrique principalis novi collegii pauperum cleri-  
 corum sub vocabulo sancti Leonardi confessoris Infra nostram 50  
 Civitatem et Almam universitatem sanctiandree fundati et  
 erecti Aliorumque magistrorum Regentium capellanorum stu-



dentium et scolarium dicti collegii in eodem de presenti literarum studio insistentium exhibita petitio continebat quod alias bone memorie dominus Iohannes hepburn dum viveret dicte nostre ecclesie prior et capitulum eiusdem protunc propter hoc capitulariter congregati utilitate commodo et honestate dicte ecclesie ac divini cultus *incrementum* undique provisum et consideratis diligentique et longo tractatu ac matura de-

60 liberatione desuper prehabitis Quoddam Notabile Collegium pauperum Clericorum sub vocabulo sancti Leonardi nuncupatum Infra dictam nostram Civitatem et Almam universitatem sanctiandree situatum per eos fundatum et a fundamentis eorum Impensis constructum reparatum et edificatum pie fundaverint Ac nonnulla decimas garbales ecclesiasticosque fructus et proventus necnon terras Acras prata predia possessiones domos hortos tenementa edificia et annuos redditus in eorum literis et foundationis cartis expressata pro principalis ac magistrorum Regentium capellanorum studentium et scolarium

70 In eodem tunc Impositorum et pro tempore perpetuis futuris temporibus Imponendorum annua sustentatione In puram et perpetuam elimosinam pie erogaverint et illos dotaverint Et postmodum dictum Novum collegium per eos constructum fundatum et dotatum per pie memorie dominum Alexandrum dum viveret Archiepiscopum sanctiandree predecessorem nostrum tunc in humanis agentem sub certis modo et forma tunc Latius expressis ordinaria auctoritate erigi creari et constitui et Novissime per Recondendissime memorie dominum Iacobum huius nominis Quartum dum viveret scotorum Regem In-

80 clitissimum et tunc similiter in humanis agentem dicti collegii foundationem dotationem et illius erectionem creationem et constitutionem ut premittitur respective factas Regali Auctoritate Approbari et confirmari obtinuerint prout in literis et Cartis desuper respective confectis Ac Iohannis hepburn prioris et capituli ecclesie sanctiandree fundatorum communium capituli eiusdem Alexandri vero Archiepiscopi dictum Collegium ordinaria Auctoritate erigentis suo auctentico et communi dicti capituli Ac Illustrissimi domini Jacobi quarti Regis foundationem et erectionem huiusmodi Regia Auctoritate

Sc. incremento.

confirmantis et Approbantis suo magno sigillis respective sigillatis Quarum omnium tenores de verbo in verbum sequuntur et presentibus Inseruntur et sunt tales [*Hic inseruntur Carte Jacobi IV. Alexandri Archiep. et Ioannis Prioris*] CUM AUTEM sicut eadem vestra subiungebat petitio fundatio dotatio erectio creatio constitutio unioque Annexatio et incorporatio prefate necnon et regia Approbatio et confirmatio Ac donationes concessionis Collationes institutiones et Assignationes preinserte verumetiam statuta constitutiones ordinationes voluntates mandata et decreta collegialia alias per fundatores predictos aut eorum successores sub sigillo communi capituli ecclesie sancti- 90 andree Ac forsitan postmodum per dicti collegii preceptorem principalem Ac magistros et Regentes eiusdem provide facta edita et promulgata aliaque in preinsertis literis et cartis narrata specificata et expressata in evidentem et perpetuam dicti collegii pauperum clericorum sancti Leonardi Ac principalis et magistrorum Regentium capellanorum studentium et scholarium prefatorum et eorundem successorum pro tempore existentium cesserint et cedant utilitatem cupitisque propterea illas et singula in dictis preinsertis literis seu aliis instrumentis et documentis publicis desuper confectis contenta specificata et 100 narrata Ac prout Illas et illa concernunt pro eorum subsistentia firmari apostolice confirmationis munimine per sedem apostolicam prefatam Roborari et confirmari Quare nobis humiliter supplicari fecistis vobis super hiis per sedis apostolice prefate clementiam de opportuno Remedio misericorditer provideri Nos Igitur ad infrascripta sufficienti apostolica facultate muniti Et qui circa collegiorum et studiorum quorumlibet presertim infra nostram Civitatem sanctiandree pie fundatorum statum Iuxta pastoralis officii debitum sollicite vigilantes In hiis libenter vobis assistimus per que vobis ac successoribus prefatis 120 tranquillitatis et quietis commoda proveniant et eorum profectibus consulatur vosque et vestrum quemlibet a quibusvis excommunicationis suspensionis et interdicti aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis censuris ac penis A Iure vel ab homine quavis occasione vel causa latis si quibus quolibet Innodati existitis Ad effectum presentium dumtaxat consequendum harum serie

- Absolventes et absolutos fore censentes de preinsertis omnibus et singulis eorumque circumstantiis sufficienter informati et plenam noticiam habentes necnon decimarum garbaliu fructuumque et proventuum ecclesiasticorum terrarum Acrarum pratorum vardarum molendinorum possessionum domorum edificiorum tenementorum ortorum et aliorum reddituum singulorum preinsertorum ut premittitur per fundatores prefatos collatorum donatorum et concessorum Ac collegio prefato ut premittitur erecto unitorum Annexorum et Incorporatorum Aliorumque omnium eidem collegio postmodum per quascunque personas ecclesiasticas seu seculares pie erogatorum et pro tempore erogandorum veros annuos valores preinsertarumque literarum quas propterea diligenter inspici et examinari fecimus
- 130 tenores pro sufficienter expressis habentes Ac Intuitu et consideratione venerabilis viri nobisque In christo dilecti domini Iacobi Leirmonth prepositi capelle Regie sive Collegiate ecclesie beate marie de Rupe prope dictam Civitatem nostram sanctiandree Et in dicto collegio protunc actualiter studentis et bacchalarii in artibus formati nobis super hoc instanter supplicantis dicti Iacobi prepositi et vestris in hac parte supplicationibus favorabiliter Inclinati foundationem dotationem Erectionem creationem constitutionem unionem Annexationem et Incorporationem Ac donationes et concessionem et illarum confirmationes et Approbationes prefatas necnon voluntates institutiones ordinationes dispositiones Assignationes mandata decreta et statuta collegialia alias per ipsos dominos priorem et conventum fundatores seu eorundem successores sub eorum sigillo communi capituli sanctiandree Rite condita et in futurum provida consideratione modo quo supra condenda necnon et quarumcumque aliarum personarum tam ecclesiasticarum quam secularium personarum pie devotionis zelo accensarum de quibusvis bonis Rebus et possessionibus dicto collegio post primam eiusdem foundationem et dotationem *facte* et Imposterum *faciende*
- 150 concessionem donationem et Assignationem Et ac si presentibus specificate et inserte forent exnunc prout extunc et econtra Cum omnibus et singulis illis adiectis legibus declarationibus conditionibus et limitationibus Necnon prout eas et ea con-

Sc. factas.  
Sc. faciendas.



cernunt omnia et singula in cartis et literis preinsertis predictis  
 Ac aliis instrumentis et documentis publicis desuper confectis  
 contenta narrata et specificata et quecumque alia indesequata  
 Licita tamen et honesta ac sacris canonibus non contraria in  
 omnibus suis punctis et Articulis modis et circumstanciis Auc-  
 toritate apostolica nobis concessa et qua fungimur in hac parte  
 ex certa nostra scientia et de apostolice nobis commisse pote- 170  
 statis plenitudine tenore presentium Approbamus Ratificamus  
 et pro perpetuo confirmamus Ac presentis scripti patrocinio  
 comunimus Eiusque perpetue firmitatis Robur adiicimus Ac  
 ea valida et efficacia existere suosque effectus sorti Ac per-  
 petuo et Inviolabiliter observari Sicque per quoscumque Iudices  
 quavis etiam apostolica auctoritate fungentes sublata eii et  
 eorum cuilibet quavis aliter Iudicandi et Interpretandi facultate  
 et Auctoritate Iudicari et diffiniri debere Ac quicquid secus  
 super hiis A quoquam quavis Auctoritate scienter vel Ignoranter  
 Attemptatum forsitan est hactenus vel imposterum quovismodo 180  
 contigerit Attemptari Irritum et Inane decernimus Omnesque  
 et singulos Iuris et facti defectus siqui in premissis seu eorum  
 aliquo quovismodo Intervenerint prefata Auctoritate de specialis  
 dono gratie supplemus Et Nichilominus dicti collegii funda-  
 tionem et dotationem ac illius erectionem Creationem et consti-  
 tutionem necnon et unionem Annexationem et incorporationem  
 prefatas Ac donationes concessionem et Assignationem dicto  
 collegio alias factas et in futurum ut premittitur faciendas  
 verumetiam ordinationem dispositionem mandata decreta et  
 statuta collegialia alias Rite condita et in futurum ut premitti- 190  
 tur condenda dicta apostolica Auctoritate nobis ut premittitur  
 concessa Innovamus et de novo dictum Collegium erigimus  
 creamus et constituimus Ac collegialibus honoribus dignitatibus  
 et preminentibus Auctoritate prefata sublimamus et decoramus  
 Necnon omnia et singula decimas garbales fructusque et pro-  
 ventus ecclesiasticos ac terras Acras prata vardas molendina  
 possessionem domos edificia tenementa ortos et Annuos redditus  
 in preinserta fundatione expressata et ut premittitur per funda-  
 tores prefatos eidem collegio collata donata concessa et assignata  
 Aliaque omnia et singula bona seu beneficia ecclesiastica dicto 200

collegio per quascumque alias personas tam ecclesiasticas quam  
 seculares pie devocionis causa erogata et in futurum quovismodo  
 eroganda dicto collegio alias tam ordinaria quam per nos apos-  
 tolica respective auctoritatibus erecto exnunc prout extunc et  
 econtra prefata apostolica auctoritate nobis ut premittitur con-  
 cessa tenore presentium de novo unimus annectimus et pro  
 perpetuo incorporamus decernentes et dicta auctoritate hac im-  
 perpetuum valitura constitutione statuentes Erectionem unionem  
 Annexationem et incorporationem prefatas nullatenus Invalidari  
 210 posse neque debere Quocirca Reverendo in christo patri dei  
 Gratia Episcopo brechinensi et Archidiacono nostro sancti-  
 andree principali Ac beate marie de Rupe prope Civitatem  
 nostram sanctiandree collegiate *ecclesiarum* preposito per apos- Sc. ecclesie.  
 tolica scripta committimus et Mandamus quatenus ipsi vel duo  
 aut unus eorum si et postquam presentes Littere eis presentate  
 fuerint per se vel alium seu alios presentes literas et in eiis  
 contenta quecunque ubi et quando ac quociens expediens  
 fuerit Et pro parte vestra seu successorum vestrorum desuper  
 Requisiti fuerint solenniter publicantes faciant vos omnibus et  
 220 singulis in preinsertis literis seu aliis instrumentis et documentis  
 publicis predictis contentis et specificatis pacifice frui et gaudere  
 Ac preinsertas literas fundationem et dotationem dicti collegii  
 in se continentes instrumentaque et documenta hujusmodi Ac  
 statuta collegialia predicta et in eiis contenta quecumque suum  
 plenarium effectum sortiri Non permittentes vos aut aliquem  
 vestrum seu successores vestros pro tempore existentes per  
 quascumque personas cujuscumque dignitatis status gradus  
 ordinis conditionis nobilitatis vel preeminentie fuerint Etiam  
 quacumque super hoc facultate suffultas quolibet Impediri In-  
 230 quietari perturbari Aut alias indebite molestari Contradictores  
 vero perturbatores Inquietatores molestatores quoslibet et Re-  
 belles Necnon Regentes capellanos studentes scolares et alia  
 membra dicti collegii nunc et pro tempore existentia magistro  
 principali eiusdem collegii nunc et pro tempore existenti et eius  
 salubribus monitis Inobedientes Ac etiam Annuatim in singulis  
 visitationibus dicti collegii per Illius visitatores ex statutis  
 prefatis deputatos in excessibus compertos et eorundem visita-



torum correctioni et punitioni moderatis non parentes quociens  
 ex parte magistri principalis [et] seu visitorum predictorum  
 nunc et pro tempore respective existentium simul vel separa- 240  
 tim requisiti fuerint seu fuerit per excommunicationis et alias  
 sententias censuras et penas ecclesiasticas etiam pecuniarias  
 eorundem Arbitrio imponendas et Alia opportuna Iuris Remedia  
 Appellatione quavis omnino postposita dicta Auctoritate  
 Arctius compescendo Et Nichilominus eos qui contrafecerint  
 Legitimis super hiis per eosdem Iudices habendis servatis pro-  
 cessibus summarie et de plano procedendo quociens expedierit  
 excommunicationis sententiam huiusmodi Ac alias sententias  
 censuras et penas ecclesiasticas etiam pecuniarias prefatas in-  
 currisse declarent eosque Aggravent et Reaggravent Ac inter- 250  
 dictum ecclesiasticum apponant Invocato etiam ad hoc si opus  
 fuerit Auxilio brachii secularis Volentesque ac eisdem scientia  
 et auctoritate apostolica nobis ut premittitur concessa decern-  
 entes quod dictis executoribus A die date presentium sit eisi  
 et unicuique ipsorum in premissis omnibus et singulis ceptis et  
 non ceptis presentibus et futuris perpetuata potestas et Iuris-  
 dictio attributa ut eo vigore eaque firmitate possint omnibus et  
 singulis ceptis et non ceptis presentibus et futuris et pro pre-  
 dictis procedere Ac si predicta omnia et singula coram eis cepta  
 fuissent et Iurisdictio eorum et cuiuslibet Ipsorum in predictis 260  
 omnibus et singulis per citationem vel modum alium perpetuata  
 Legitime extitisset Quodque quilibet executorum eorundem  
 prosequi valeat Articulum etiam per alium Inchoatum quamvis  
 Idem Inchoans nullo fuerit canonico Impedimento prepeditus  
 Non obstantibus premissis Ac pie memorie domini Bonifacii  
 pape octavi de una et Concilii generalis de duabus dietis dum-  
 modo ultra quatuor Aliquis vigore presentium extra fines sue  
 diocesis ad Iudicium non trahatur Et quibusvis Aliis apostolicis  
 Ac in provincialibus et synodalibus conciliis editis generalibus  
 vel specialibus Constitutionibus et ordinationibus Necnon dicti 270  
 collegii sancti leonardi et illius primeva fundatione erectione et  
 dotatione in contrarium premissorum forsitan disponente etiam  
 Iuramento confirmatione apostolica vel quavis firmitate alia  
 Roboratis statutis et consuetudinibus privilegiis quoque indultis



graciis Immunitatibus et exemptionibus Ac literis apostolicis eidem collegio ac illius magistris Regentibus capellanis studentibus et scholaribus ac personis prefatis nunc et pro tempore existentibus sub quibuscumque tenoribus et verborum formis Ac cum quibusvis etiam derogatoriis derogatoriis Aliisque  
 280 fortioribus efficacioribus et Insolitis clausulis Irritantibusque et aliis decretis etiam Iteratis vicibus concessis Approbatis et Innovatis Quibus omnibus etiam primeve foundationi prefate ad effectum presentium illorum tenores Ac si de verbo ad verbum nichil penitus omisso insererentur presentibus pro sufficienter expressis habentes Illis alias in suo Robore permansuris hac vice dumtaxat Apostolica Auctoritate prefata specialiter et expresse derogamus Ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque Aut si aliquibus communiter vel divisim ab eadem sit sede indultum quod interdicti suspendi vel excommunicari non  
 290 possint per literas apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam Ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto huiusmodi mentionem / Datum sanctiandree sub sigillo nostre Legationis Anno Incarnationis dominice Millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo quinto Quarto kalendas Decembris Pontificatus sanctissimi In Christo patris et domini nostri domini pauli divina providentia pape tertii Anno duodecimo.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The seal is gone. In the left hand corner is written "Visa. G. Cok pro datoribus"—if "datoribus" be meant by the contraction "dats" with a sign, perhaps "o," above the "s". In the right hand corner is the signature "T. Knox": the former initial is very ornate, but it is almost certainly not J. On the back is a registration mark—a large R, with "ta" in the loop, followed by "Libro s<sup>o</sup> fo. centesimo," and the same signature done very large. On the back also, and very much obscured, is the signature "Jo. Lauder Abbreviator". Dr. Hay Fleming draws my attention to the St. Andrews Kirk Session Register, vol. i., p. 90, where there is a reference to the Cardinal's "Registre" as having contained the articles and sentence against Borthwick. I am inclined to think that the compiler of the St. Andrews' *Formulare* must have had access to this Register, and that a large number of his styles are taken from it. John Lauder is familiar to readers of Knox: he was admitted to the Faculty of Arts

1509, chosen from the non-regents as a "temptator" or examiner 1511, named as a Provisor for the Feast of St. John the Evangelist 1512 (*Act. Fac. Art.*). Many documents in the St. Andrews Formulare refer to him. He seems to have become Archdeacon of Teviotdale before David Beaton was Archbishop. Beaton (as Cardinal) styles him "familiaris clericus et secretarius noster primarius," refers to his faithful services, "literarum scientia vite ac morum honestas aliaque laudabilia probitatis et virtutum merita," and appoints him scribe to the Court of the Official Principal (Form., f. 525). During his absence "apud Gallias" Beaton made him vicar general to confer benefices, appoint officials, and confirm "testamenta majora" (*ibid.*, f. 426). Lauder's secretarial experience in St. Andrews was a long one: the Formulare indicates that it began under Archbishop Forman.

## CARDINAL BEATON'S CHARTER TRANSLATED.

David, by the mercy of God of the title of Saint Stephen on the Celian Mount, Presbyter of the Holy Roman Church, Cardinal, Archbishop of Saint Andrews, Primate of the whole realm of Scotland, Legate born of the Apostolic See and Legate de Latere thereof throughout all the realm aforesaid, with the intent that the matter should be held on record: We, out of the goodwill of the Apostolic See set in the lofty place of Apostolic Legate, though it be beyond our strength and desert, do ceaselessly keep watch, as touching the salutary fulfilment of the duty of the pastoral office, concerning the state of all Colleges whatsoever and in especial of those piously founded within our mother University of  
10 Saint Andrews, wherein by ceaseless study there may be found that pearl of knowledge which furnisheth the way of living well and saintly and by its worth setteth him that hath understanding far above the ignorant and maketh him like unto God, doth aid the unlearned and exalteth them of low degree, whereby also the Catholic faith might be protected and made strong, the Christian religion flourish, the word of God be sown more abundantly in the hearts of the faithful and the truth might be set to oppose the heresies and schisms of noxious heretics and heresiarchs which, alas, in our times in these and  
20 divers other parts of the world have sprouted and grown strong, and the virtue of wisdom and knowledge might prevail. Therefore also the Apostolic See that doth prudently minister in things temporal as well as spiritual, with the intent that men may be more easily persuaded to reach so lofty a height of human excellence and impart in turn unto others what they



have received,<sup>1</sup> doth exhort them, prepare places for them, aid and foster them, and to those provisions for their own profit and advantage, for their lasting honour and good estate, and for the advantage of any persons engaged therein in praises of God, in the study of letters, or in mastering the sciences, which she doth find prudently made granted and ordained by the Founders and Prelates of these Colleges (especially provisions for the increase therein of divine worship to the glory of God<sup>30</sup> for the salvation of the souls of such founders) she doth freely add the strength of the Apostolic protection that they may remain stablished for ever and inviolate; and foundations, gifts, erections, creations, incorporations, unions, annexations, with confirmations and approbations thereof, donations, grants and infestments, likewise also provisions, institutions and distributions, mandates, statutes, wills, constitutions, ordinances and decrees which are not contrary to the Sacred Canons and by the Founders and Prelates themselves for the time being made and settled, she doth extend and enlarge and doth favourably lend thereto the functions of her office. She doth also extend<sup>40</sup> to them the right hand of her liberality and foster by the favour of her protection those who by their own virtuous merit have manifold recommendation therefor and this after diligently considering the conditions and qualities of persons, places and times, as she seeth it to be salutary and expedient in the Lord. Whereas then there was laid before us lately a petition on the part of our well-beloved in Christ, Master John Annand, Canon Professed of our Metropolitan and Primatial Church of Saint Andrews, of the order of Saint Augustine, Licentiate in Sacred Theology and Master Principal of the new College of Poor Clerks, named of Saint Leonard the Confessor, founded<sup>50</sup> and erected within our City and mother University of Saint Andrews, and on the part of others, Masters, Regents, Chaplains, Students and Scholars of the said College, at the present

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<sup>1</sup>The metaphor "*excelsum humane conditionis fastigium acquirere et acquisitum in alios refundere*" is not a local composition: it has been traced to Rome.

pursuing in the same the study of letters, to the effect that formerly the worshipful John Hepburn of good memory, during his life Prior of our said Church, and the Chapter of the same, duly assembled at that time for the purpose, after careful and prudent consideration of the interest advantage and honour of the said Church and of the increase of divine worship, and upon diligent and prolonged counsel and ripe deliberation  
60 thereanent, did piously found a notable College of Poor Clerks, named of Saint Leonard, situate within our said City and mother University of Saint Andrews, by them established and constructed from the foundations at their expense, repaired and built, and did piously assign for pure charity in perpetuity certain properties, to wit great teinds and ecclesiastical fruits and revenues, likewise lands, acres, meadows, holdings, possessions, houses, gardens, tenements, buildings and annual rents, specified in their writings and charters of foundation, for the annual sustenance of the Principal and Masters, Regents,  
70 Chaplains, Students and Scholars then appointed therein and to be appointed whensoever in time to come and did make them gift thereof; and that thereafter<sup>1</sup> they did obtain for the said new College by them constructed, founded, and endowed that it should be erected created and established in virtue of his ordinary authority by the worshipful Alexander of pious memory, in his life time Archbishop of Saint Andrews, our predecessor and then in the land of the living, in precise manner and form at that time more fully specified, and finally that by the worshipful James, ever to be cherished in memory, fourth of the name, in his life time King of Scots most  
80 illustrious and at that time likewise in the land of the living, the foundation of the said College, endowment, erection, creation and establishment, as premised, each duly done, should be approved and confirmed by the Royal authority, as in the respective writings and charters thereanent completed and

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<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact the Archbishop's Charter of Confirmation was completed some months before Prior Hepburn's Charter of Endowment. See Introduction.

sealed respectively with the seal of John Hepburn, Prior, and the Chapter of the Church of Saint Andrews, founders in common in the said Chapter, likewise with the authentic seal of Alexander, Archbishop, erecting the said College by his ordinary authority, and the common seal of the said Chapter, and with the Great Seal of the right illustrious Prince, James the Fourth, by his Royal authority confirming and approving 90  
this foundation and erection ; all which documents are inserted in these presents word for word and are to the following effect :

*(Here follows the Charter of James IV. containing the Charters of Alexander Stuart and John Hepburn.)*

Seeing then that as was submitted in your petition above-mentioned, the foundation, endowment, erection, creation, constitution, union, annexation and incorporation aforesaid, also the Royal approbation and confirmation and the donations, grants, contributions, institutions and assignations herein before inserted, likewise the statutes, constitutions, ordinances, wills, mandates and decrees for the College, in part prudently made, given out, and promulgated by the Founders aforesaid or their successors under the common seal of the Chapter of the Church 100  
of Saint Andrews or haply thereafter by the Preceptor Principal of the said College and the Masters and Regents of the same, and partly narrated specified and expressed in the writings and charters herein before inserted, have taken effect and do now take effect for the evident and permanent use of the said College of Poor Clerks of Saint Leonard and of the Principal and Masters, Regents, Chaplains, Students and Scholars aforesaid and their successors as at the time being ; and ye desire therefore that these charters and the particulars contained, specified, and narrated in the writings herein before inserted or in other public instruments and documents com- 110  
pleted thereant and as they concern these charters and particulars, should for their permanence be fortified by the protection of the Apostolic confirmation and be strengthened and confirmed by the Apostolic See aforesaid, for which cause ye have had humble supplication made to us on your behalf thereant that through the clemency of the Apostolic See aforesaid merciful



provision should be made touching a suitable remedy: We therefore, fortified by Apostolic power sufficient for what is herein after written, who, anxiously keeping watch about the state of all Colleges and places of learning, especially those piously founded within our City of Saint Andrews, as nearly  
120 touching the duty of the pastoral office, do gladly grant you assistance in these things whereby the benefits of peace and quiet may ensue for you and your successors aforesaid and their profit may be consulted, absolving each and all of you entirely and decreeing that ye shall be absolved, so far only as to secure the effect of these presents, from any sentence of excommunication, suspension and interdict and other ecclesiastical sentence, censure and penalty, from law or by man, on whatever occasion or ground passed, if ye are involved therein howsoever; and being sufficiently informed concerning all and sundry herein before inserted and their circumstances, and having full knowledge, likewise holding the true annual values of the great  
130 teinds, ecclesiastical fruits and revenues, lands, acres, meadows, wards, mills, possessions, houses, buildings, tenements, gardens, and other sundry rents herein before inserted as in the premisses by the aforesaid Founders conferred, given, and granted and united with, annexed to, and incorporated in the said College as in the premisses erected and of all others thereafter by whatsoever persons, ecclesiastical or secular, piously bestowed or to be bestowed as at the time on the said College, and holding the tenors of the writings herein before inserted (the which for this cause we have had diligently inspected and examined) to have been expressed sufficiently; and by reason  
140 of respect and consideration for the worshipful Sir James Leirmonth, our beloved in Christ, Provost of the Chapel Royal or Collegiate Church of Saint Mary on the Rock, near our said City of Saint Andrews and in the said College then actually a student and Bachelor in Arts, making earnest supplication to us thereanent, being favourably inclined by the intercession of the said Provost James and by your supplications on this behalf, as touching the foundation, endowment, erection, creation, constitution, union, annexation and incorporation, the gifts,

grants, confirmations thereof and approbations aforesaid, likewise wills, institutions, ordinances, dispositions, assignations, 150 mandates, decrees and statutes for the College, already drawn up in due order by the worshipful Prior and Convent, the Founders, or by their successors, under their common seal of the Chapter of Saint Andrews or in future to be drawn up after prudent consideration in the manner as above, likewise on the part of whatsoever other persons ecclesiastical and secular, fired by the zeal of pious devotion, any grants, gifts and assignations of any goods and possessions made to the said College after its first foundation and endowment, and in the future to be made, and as if they had been specified and in- 160 sserted in these presents hereafter as thereafter and contrariwise, with all and sundry laws added thereto, declarations, conditions, and limitations, likewise as they concern the writings and particulars, all and sundry particulars contained, narrated, and specified in the charters and writings aforesaid herein before inserted, and other public instruments and documents completed thereanent, and other things whatsoever following therefrom be they lawful and honourable and not contrary to the Sacred Canons, in all their points and articles, modes and circumstances, by the Apostolic Authority granted to us which we exercise in this part, out of our certain knowledge and from 170 the fulness of Apostolic power committed to us, by the tenor of these presents, do approve, ratify and for ever confirm and do fortify by the protection of the present writing and do add to them the strength of validity for ever and that they should be valid and efficacious, should obtain their effect and be observed for ever inviolate, and we decree that they should be judged and determined thus by whatsoever judges exercising any even Apostolic authority, any power and authority whatsoever of judging and interpreting otherwise being taken from them collectively and severally and whatsoever perchance has been attempted otherwise until now concerning them by any one whatsoever by whatever authority wittingly or in ignorance, or may in the future be attempted howsoever we decree void and 180 of none effect ; and all and sundry defects of law and of fact if



any should have occurred howsoever in the premisses or in some particular thereof, by the aforesaid authority from the gift of special grace we do make good ; and furthermore do we anew (in virtue of the said Apostolic authority granted to us as in the premisses) make the foundation and endowment of the said College and its erection, creation, and constitution, likewise the union, annexation, and incorporation aforesaid, and the gifts, grants and assignations already made to the said College and to be made, as premised, in the future, also the ordinances, dispositions, mandates, decrees and statutes for the College already  
190 duly established and to be established, as premised, in the future, and we do anew erect, create, and constitute the said College, and by the aforesaid authority we do exalt and adorn it with College honours, dignities, and distinctions ; likewise all and sundry great teinds, ecclesiastical fruits and revenues, lands, acres, meadows, wards, mills, possessions, houses, buildings, tenements, gardens and annual rents expressed in the foundation herein before and as in the premisses by the aforesaid founders conferred upon the said College, given, granted and  
200 assigned, and other goods, all and sundry, or ecclesiastical benefices given out of pious devotion to the said College by any other persons whatsoever, ecclesiastical or secular, and in future to be given howsoever, we do anew, by the tenor of these presents, unite with, annex to, and in perpetuity make part of the said College already erected by ordinary authority as well as by us in virtue of Apostolic authority, hereafter as thereafter and contrariwise, the said Apostolic authority having been granted to us as in the premisses, decreeing and in virtue of the said authority by this constitution which is to be valid for ever determining that the erection, union, annexation, and incorporation aforesaid can in no wise be invalidated, nor ought to be.  
210 Wherefore to the Reverend Father in Christ, by the grace of God Bishop of Brechin, to our Archdeacon Principal of Saint Andrews, and to the Provost of the Collegiate Church of Saint Mary on the Rock near our City of Saint Andrews, by Apostolic writings we give commission and mandate that they, or two, or one of them, if and after that the present writings have been



presented to them, themselves or by another or others duly publishing the present writings and their contents whatsoever, where and when and as often as it be expedient, and as they be required thereanent on your behalf or on behalf of your successors, make you peacefully to use and enjoy all and sundry contained and specified in the writings herein before or other 220 public instruments and documents aforesaid, and the writings herein before containing the foundation and endowment of the said College, the instruments and documents to the same effect and the College Statutes aforesaid and their contents whatsoever, to obtain their full effect, not suffering you or any of you or your successors for the time being by whatsoever persons of whatsoever rank, state, degree, order, condition, nobility or distinction, by whatsoever power thereanent supported, to be in any wise impeded, disturbed, troubled, or otherwise unduly 230 molested ; that gainsayers, troublers, disturbers, and whosoever molest and are rebellious, likewise Regents, Chaplains, Students, Scholars and other members of the said College, now and as at the time being, not obeying the Master Principal of the said College, now and as at the time being, and his salutary admonitions, and also annually at each visitation of the said College by its Visitors deputed in terms of the Statutes aforesaid, those taken in excesses and not submitting to the limited correction and punishment of the same Visitors, as often as on the part of the Master Principal or Visitors aforesaid, now and as at the time being, collectively or individually they be required, are to 240 be by the said authority more straitly dealt with by excommunications and other sentences, censures, and ecclesiastical penalties, also by fines to be imposed at the judgment of the same and by other suitable legal remedies, without any appeal whatsoever ; and furthermore those who disobey, by the usual processes observed, to be held upon them by the same judges, using summary procedure and out of court as often as it be expedient they are to declare to have incurred such sentence of excommunication and other sentences, censures, ecclesiastical penalties, also the fines aforesaid, and they are to aggravate and re-aggravate such persons and impose the ecclesiastical in- 250

terdict, even calling in for this purpose, if it be needful, the aid of the secular arm. And we do will and by the knowledge and the Apostolic authority granted to us as in the premisses we do decree that the said executors from the date of these presents have collectively and individually in all and sundry the premisses begun and not begun, present and future, a perpetual power and jurisdiction assigned, that they may be able to proceed with such vigour and assurance in all and sundry begun and not begun, present and future, and on behalf of the aforesaid, as though the aforesaid all and sundry had been  
260 begun before them, and their jurisdiction collectively or individually in the aforesaid all and sundry had been formally perpetuated by summons or otherwise, and that each of the same executors may have power to prosecute an article, even if commenced by another, although the said initiator be fettered by no impediment in Canon Law ; notwithstanding the premisses and the constitutions and ordinances of Pope Boniface the Eighth of pious memory concerning one diet and of the General Council concerning two diets (provided that beyond four diets a man be not by the force of the presents haled to Court outside the bounds of his diocese), notwithstanding any other Apostolic constitutions and ordinances and any given  
270 forth in provincial and synodical councils, general or special, likewise notwithstanding the original foundation, erection and endowment of the said College of Saint Leonard, disposing it may be contrary to the premisses and notwithstanding the statutes and customs of the said College even strengthened by oath, Apostolic confirmation, or whatsoever other power, likewise privileges, indults, favours, immunities, and exemptions and Apostolic letters to the said College and its Masters, Regents, Chaplains, Students and Scholars and persons aforesaid now and as at the time being under whatsoever tenors and forms of words and with whatsoever clauses derogating derogatory  
280 clauses and others stronger, more efficacious and exceptional and with voiding clauses and other decrees even repeatedly granted, approved, and renewed : from all which (even the original foundation aforesaid) for the effect of the presents—

holding their tenors as sufficiently expressed as though they were inserted in the presents, word for word, without any omission—being otherwise to remain in force, for this time only by the Apostolic authority aforesaid, we do specially and expressly derogate and from all others contrary whatsoever or if to any conjunctly or severally indult has been given by the said See that they cannot be interdicted, suspended, or excommunicated by Apostolic letters not making full and express mention and 290 word for word concerning such indult.

Given at Saint Andrews under our legate's Seal, in the year of the Incarnation one thousand five hundred and forty five, on the twenty-eighth day of November and in the twelfth year of the most Holy Pontificate of our lord and father in Christ, by Divine Providence Pope Paul the Third.



## THE VISITATIONS.

[NOTE.—These documents in the Chartulary of the College are here carefully printed: most of the blunders have been allowed to stand, but it would have been cumbersome to mark all: some punctuation has been introduced in the longer passages with a view to making them more intelligible. Reference has already been made in the Introduction to their bearing on the history of the College. A comparison with the Visitation of King's College, Aberdeen, in 1549 (*Fasti Aberdonenses*, p. 259) will reveal interesting points of similarity, detailed allusion to which has been thought unnecessary. A few notes are added where comment seemed desirable.]

### VISITATION OF 1544.

Carta visitationis collegii sancti leonardi facte duodecimo novembris anno domini millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo quarto per venerabiles patres dominum Iohannem venram supriorem monasterii sancti Andree sacrarum literarum professorem eximium et dominum davidem gutthre tertium priorem eiusdem Et dominum Jacobum beldowe vicarium sancti Andree data domino Iohanni Annand principali Collegii sancti Leonardi.

Principalis visitet lectiones regulam et disputationes communes: principalis faciat exhortationem generalem studentium ne fiant collationes nocturne et ut evitentur ab omnibus verba obscena.

Principalis faciat missam cantandam previderi ante diem festum.

Principalis faciat sigillum cartas et alia loci iocalia reponi in

tuto loco et cista cuius ipse unam clavem habeat et curatus aliam.<sup>1</sup>

Principalis recipiat omnium portarum claves et iterato distribuatur sic ut videbitur expediri pro republica loci.

Tabuletur<sup>2</sup> unus studentium sicut prius qui iuuet ianitorem.

Ostium ecclesie extra tempus festis<sup>3</sup> stet apertum usque ad decimam horam, et ostium inter ecclesiam et antiquam scolam non aperiatur nisi clauso ecclesie ostio.

Principalis hortetur capellanos et regentes ad celebrandum vicissim hora octava in hieme et hora septima in estate<sup>4</sup> et adveniendum ad divinum officium in diebus festis in superpelliciis et provideantur superpellicia impensis loci et celebrent ad sua altaria.

Habeatur infra xii dies de mane lectio quam p̄o anno presente leget, durante voluntate primarii, qui docet primam classem.<sup>5</sup>

Regentes puniant reos et vulgariter loquentes et alios defectus: saltem Iu(vene)s habentes studia intra locum iaceant.

Unusquisque regens attendat discipulis suis ne ledant studia sua et lesa r(eparen)tur ledentium expensis.

<sup>1</sup> The Statutes do not contemplate this arrangement (*vid.* cap. v.): we have here another instance of the development *de facto* towards collegiate independence.

<sup>2</sup> At King's, Aberdeen (*Ev.*, iv., 146), a person appointed in his turn to take service is "tabulariter inscriptus": *cf.* Visitation of 1551 *ad fin.* where Scheill's case is referred to.

<sup>3</sup> The MS. reads "pestis," which is almost certainly a blunder by the copyist. We seem to have here another trace of the parochial aspect of the Church: the fact that it is open till ten must not lead to disregard of rules laid down about the College gate. Was the "antiqua schola" an old Hospital building now used for purposes of lecture?

<sup>4</sup> This was not a Statute and yet it seems to be a recognised rule for chaplains (see next Visitation).

<sup>5</sup> *Cf.* Stat., cap. 3, *ad init.* This Visitation leaves the impression that early rising was far from universal.

Studentes de gremeo loci locentur soli in do(mo) inferiori,<sup>1</sup>

Visitentur studentes si surgunt \* tempestive de mane. \* Sic.

Actus \*<sup>2</sup> quieti non fiant nisi post missam. \* Ictus ?

Respondeatur sing(ulis) tribus studentibus de bono brodio.

Obstruantur cloace studiorum studiorum \* in cellis studen- \* Sic.  
tium et fiat communis sedes impensis loci.

Fiat deligentia per provisorum de gressumis de rarelpe \* et \* *i.e.*, Rathel  
de omnibus aliis restis pecunie et victualium. pie.

Claves porte dentur magistro principali vel cui principalis  
mandaverit dare.

Audiatur computum diarium immediate post salve.

Subsepharius depleat pelvem post prandium et cenam.

Mulieres alie a lotrice non intrent quantum fieri potest.

Unusquisque capuciatorum det ianitori xii denarios per  
annum. Et quilibet studens in loco det sibi xii denarios per  
annum pro suis laboribus et candelis emendis ad custodiendum  
portam usque ad octavam horam in hieme.

Quilibet studens dives habens studium in loco det magistro  
fabrice collegii in anno.<sup>3</sup>

#### VISITATION OF 1545.

Carta visitationis collegii sancti Leonardi facte decimo  
tertio novembris Anno Domini millesimo quin-  
gentesimo quadrag(esimo quinto per) venerabiles  
patres dominum iohannem wynram superiorem<sup>4</sup>  
monasterii sanctiandree sacrarum literarum pr(o-  
fessorem exi)mium et dominum david gutthre  
tertium priorem eiusdem data domino iohanni  
annand principali collegii sancti Le(onardi) vice-  
simo mensis novembris anno domini suprascripto.

<sup>1</sup> This seems to indicate a desire to seclude the foundationers from external influence (see Introduction and next Visitation).

<sup>2</sup> The triple "ictus" of the bell is referred to in this connection (Stat., cap. 3): it seems likely that this Visitation was entered in the Chartulary to dictation.

<sup>3</sup> If a sum was specified it has been omitted in copying.

<sup>4</sup> "Superior" is not infrequently written for "supprior".



Sigillum commune carte evidentie et alia loci iocalia ponantur in loco tuto videlicet in quadam cista ad hoc aptata in qua etiam ponatur idem quod restat de proventibus loci ultra expensas fundatorum in eodem et huius ciste unam clavem habeat principalis alteram vero sacrista.<sup>1</sup>

Item provideatur locus aptus et honestus loci libris conservandis.

Item principalis recipiat omnium posticarum claves et iterum distribuatur prout sibi videbitur expediri.

Hepdomadarius in diebus festis veniat in superpellicio ad cantandum vespas et superpellicium eidem preparetur impensis loci: capellani et regentes presertim altaragia habentes vicissim celebrent in hyeme circa octavam in estate circa septimam horam et ad sua altaria cantantes: missam uniformiter et eodem modo cantandi cantent ut possit illis uniformiter et sine dissonantia responderi et quilibet cantet pro se et qui nescit discat et misse difficiles provideantur a studentibus precipue a cantandi imperitis.

Item regentes et cetera membra loci in tabula et alibi utantur latino sermone ut vel sic suo exemplo bono alii suadeantur ad simile faciendum et studentes contrarium facientes puniantur per regentes, [regentes]<sup>2</sup> vero per principalem cohibeantur.

Capuciatii omnes locentur in domo inferiori nec ullus cum eisdem cubet nisi capuciatius: et quia obstruuntur ora latrinarum fiat sedes necessaria impensis loci.

Pro infirmitatibus mulieres alie a lotrice non ingrediantur locum signanter in cellariis et locis privatis.

Item regentes visitent studentes sero et mane iuxta formam Statutorum. statutoris\* in cellis et in regula puniantque<sup>3</sup> reos et vulgariter

<sup>1</sup>The College had begun apparently more than twenty years before this to administer surplus funds, as in the case of the loans on Lambyetham and Lathocar noticed in the Introduction. This regulation is obviously intended to prevent the intrusions of individuals.

<sup>2</sup>"Regentes" has evidently dropped out.

<sup>3</sup>The phraseology is difficult here unless we interpret "visitent" in the sense of "exercise their authority" when taken with "in

loquentes : fiat attendanta ad custodiam ostii inter chorum et navem ecclesie.

Item proventus orti quotannis expendantur in constructione muri inferioris : corrigantur mensule campanilis<sup>1</sup> et doma \* et \* Domus ? tegule camere magistri david gardin ut secludatur pluvia : aut omnibus regentibus et capellanis aut nullis detur incendium moderatum pro ignibus incendiis\* et ne fiant discursus per \* Sc. incendis. aliena studia.

Fiat uniformitas inter studentes in crinibus in caligis et birretis precipue inter capuciatos.

Item quod studia exteriora corrumpuntur per frequentes mutationes comensalium et aliorum et quod iam sunt omnino ruinosi singuli studentes maneant in illis studiis in quibus inceperunt usque ad finem cursus sui, nec fiant ulla studiorum mutationes et quilibet qui non est de gremio loci solvat annuatim ii<sup>s</sup> pro reparatione eorundem.

Item officia panistræ et cellarii<sup>2</sup> exerceantur vicissim per capuciatos et subcypharius ut decet mundet pelvem et cyphos.

Et quicumque sive de gremio loci sive alius percusserit socium suum gladio et cultro de loco simpliciter expellatur et ut huiusmodi malum evitetur nullus studentium utatur gladio aut cultro magno sed si qui talia habeat \* sint in custodia \* Sic. regentium suorum.

Quilibet studentium cantet pro se ipso et accipiat tabulam<sup>3</sup> propriam.

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regula". A reference to the Visitation of 1551 shows that Regents sometimes absented themselves from the general meeting or "capitulum" for discipline on Fridays at eleven, and they would be more likely to neglect the daily "regula" with their own classes.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Visitation of 1551: "ne pluvia inde descendens noceret ecclesie". The belfry is apparently on the Church.

<sup>2</sup> "Pantryman and Butler": the form "panistræ" does not occur in Ducange, and should refer to the duties rather than to the person (cf. next Visitation). Buchanan uses "Pantriman" to cover both offices (v. Irving's *Memoirs*, Appendix III.).

<sup>3</sup> It is doubtful whether this means simply his "place" in a list or table of services drawn up as at King's, Aberdeen (*Fasti Aber-*

Item qui die sabati facit epistolam sero, de suo capite et ingenio id faciat et non alterius, et priusquam legat ostendat primario vel suo regenti et qui contrarium fecerit ieiunet pane et potu ad arbitrium principalis.

De custodia porte servetur statutum anni precedentis et beneficiati vel divites non admittantur inter capuciatos nisi solvant pro tabulis.<sup>1</sup>

Singulis duobus capuciatis<sup>2</sup> cocus ministret brodium pingue statim ut postulatur et sine pugna vel verborum vel manuum et illis diebus quibus communicant studentes habeant album panem.

Communis aula singulis diebus mundetur per lixam Layng sub pena expulsionis.

Item provisor faciat exactam diligentiam pro fermis gressumis et debitis que debentur.

#### VISITATION OF 1550.

Carta Recessus in visitatione collegii divi Leonardi facta decim(o octa)vo \* die mensis novembris anno domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesi(mo per) venerabiles patres Dominum Iohannem Wynram sacrarum literarum professorem monasterii Sanctiandree supriorem et Dominum Davidem guthre eiusdem loci tertium priorem data domino Iohanni Law dicti collegii magistro principali xxiii<sup>o</sup> die mensis predicti mensis \* pro reformatione excessuum in eodem collegio.

Inprimis igitur mandant prefati visitatores per magistrum fabrice dicti collegii fieri cistam quamdam firmam et bene sera-

\* Or nono ?

\* Sic.

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*donenses*, 260-61), cf. the phrase above (Visitation of 1544), "tabuletur unus qui iuvet ianitorem"; but the context might suggest the rendering "music" (see Grove's *Dict. of Music*, Tablature).

<sup>1</sup> "Cubiculum et tabula" (College Altarages) is "bed and board".

<sup>2</sup> Evidently refers to some special complaint (cf. last Visitation).



tam in qua cista conserventur sigillum commune carte evidentie et alia loci iocalia id etiam quod singulis annis restat de proventibus loci ultra necessarias fundatarum personarum expensas et huius ciste unam clavem habeat magister principalis alteram vero sacrista : hoc mandatum servetur sub pena ad arbitrium visitorum imponenda negligentibus.

Item omnium privatarum portarum claves reddantur magistro principali nec ulli pateant huiusmodi porte nisi de licentia speciali eiusdem magistri principalis sub pena predicta.

Item provisor impensis loci faciat unum superpellicium commune in quo heptomadarius diebus festis cantet vespas sub simili pena predicta.

Item regentes et capellani habentes altaragia in estate cum dispositi (?) fuerint hora septima aut eocirca in hyeme vero hora octava celebrent missas apud suum quisque altare sub simili pena predicta.

Item regentes duo qui nunc sunt videlicet magistri david guld et Iacobus wilkeson si velint legere bis aut ter in heptomada unam lectionem in sacris literis vel ex magistro sententiarum habeant de proventibus loci ultra annum salarium unusquisque quinque mercas : si vero huiusmodi lectionem facere recusaverint habeant dumtaxat salarium consuetum decem mercarum sub pena qua supra.

Item quia compertum est provisorem hactenus minime fecisse exactam diligentiam pro annua importatione proventuum loci, proinde mandamus provisor ipsius collegii pro tempore existens singulis annis post redditionem sui computi in festo omnium sanctorum pro restis pedis sui computi ostendere auditoribus eiusdem vel namos vel literarum executiones pro hiis summis sive pecuniarum sive victualium que restant insolute in pede sui computi sub pena qua supra.

Item curatus magister Iohannes fyffe infra hinc et festum pasche proxime futurum preparet se ad cantandum missas et vespas in suo turno et vice sua : quod si non fecerit mandetur ei per principalem ut amoveat se ab officio in festo penthecostes proxime futuro et alius suo loco surrogetur sub eadem pena.

Item non recipiantur commensales in loco ad longum tempus

nisi prius et ante manum solvant pensum pro uno quarterio et si contingat eosdem aliquot diebus a tabula abesse nichill tamen eisdem pro eorum absentia de penso ordinario diminuatur nisi simul absint quindecim diebus continuis sub pena qua supra.

Item proventus horti pro termino preterito infra hinc et festum nativitatis divi Iohannis baptiste proxime futurum expendantur in extrucone muri australis ipsius collegii sub simili pena.

Item eo die quo aliquis studentium invenitur indutus caligis scissis ad discretionem magistri principalis aut eius regentis careat uno genere piscium seu carnum sub pena qua supra.

Item quia compertum est alexandrum sandelandis et robertus bruce studentes de gremio loci esse et ad longum tempus preteritum fuisse notabiliter otiosos pugnatos incorrigibiles et multiphariam loci perturbatores (qui defectus merentur expulsionem de loco simpliciter) dicti tamen visitatores hac vice cum eis mitius agere volentes mandant quod pro forisfactis preteritis qualibet heptomada usque ad festum natalis domini proxime futurum uno die septimane sedeant solum sub aliis studentibus ieiunantes pane et potu : qui si vel sic se non correxerint de loco simpliciter expellantur ne contagione pestifera pluries \* perdant.

\* Sic.

Item priusquam legantur epistole Sabbative ostendantur vel primario vel alicui regentium sub simili pena.

\* MS. panite.

Item serventur statuta loci in custodia cellarii et panitrie.\*

Item ubique et semper habeatur sermo latinus inter studentes et regentes.

Item studentium collobia et caputia fiant ampliora quam nunc sunt sub predicta pena.

Item locetur curatus in camera juxta portam anteriorem ut audire possit parochianos clamantes pro admistratione sacramentorum.

Item quamprimum fieri poterit corrigantur per magistrum fabrice tabule campanilis.

Item rentale loci inscribatur registro seu libro computorum ut cognosci possit a principali magistro et regentibus.

Item depositum seu legatum domini alexandri zung porte-

tur ad notitiam principalis et regentium et desuper fiat computum.

Item fiat inquisitio per principalem pro vestibus et libris dominorum thome cunygham et alexandri zung.

Item communis aula mundetur cotidie per lixam sub pena expulsionis simpliciter de loco.

JO<sup>ES</sup> WYNRAM supprior Sanctiandree.<sup>1</sup>

DAVID GUTHRE tertius prior.

JOHANNES LAWMONTH quartus prior.

### VISITATION OF 1551.<sup>2</sup>

Cum parum aut nihil prosit locorum seu collegiorum annuas visita(tiones facere) et pro corrigendis delinquentium excessibus testium veridico(rum) depositiones accipere nisi interim pro medendis corrigendisque peccantium defectibus per eos quibus id officii incumbit salutaria provideantur antidota et remedia oportuna, hinc est quod nos visitatores antedicti et quibus hac vice spectare dignosatur \* visitatio seu verius reformatio huius \* Sc. dinos-  
collegii leonardi in eum qui sequitur modum eiusdem collegii citur.

<sup>1</sup> The Visitors have signed with their own hands : the document is written in the Chartulary by a hand which has also copied several documents belonging to the year 1545 : it is not the writing of Wynram himself : very probably it was written to Wynram's dictation.

<sup>2</sup> This Visitation has been copied into the Chartulary some time later, for the writer could not make out the name of the student Forsyth whose conduct is so much criticised ; and he was copying from a manuscript, for at one point he has misunderstood a contraction. His work was revised for him, but many blunders still remain. These have been allowed for the most part to stand in the text (though they are not always marked) as a specimen of the gross ignorance of Latin in one who was presumably a student. The copying has not been done at one sitting, and the writing is occasionally almost illegible. There is no heading, but internal evidence and an extant document bearing on the case of Master John Scheill point clearly to the year 1551.



ac in eodem conversantium excessus iuxta ea que ex fidedignorum testimoniis excepimus duximus reformandos.

In primis quia nobis satis comprobatum existit quod in ipso collegio singulis feriis sextis capitulum minime convocatur pro corrigendis delinquentium excessibus prout statuta canunt<sup>1</sup> et quo tandem precipiuntur, nos igitur auctoritate nostra qua fungimur in hac parte precipimus et mandamus singulis feriis sextis per magistrum loci principalem pro reformandis delinquentium excessibus convocari capitulum idque hora diei undecima per sonum campane ad quod convenient omnes et singuli prefati collegii regentes capellani et studentes non solum qui de gremio sunt ipsius collegii verumetiam qui huc aliunde studendi gratia confluerunt, parati ad recipiendum correctionem pro suis ipsorum excessibus. Et si qui ex numero studentium qui non sunt ex gremio collegii sese a capitulo absentaverint recusantes subire ut decet correctionem per magistrum loci principalem a collegio removeantur. Si qui autem id attentare presumerint qui de ipsius collegii gremio existant pro prima ipsa absentia virgis percutantur,\* pro secunda ieiunio et piscium abstinencia coerceantur et tertia vero de loco simpliciter removeatur.\* Si vero id absentationis vitium in aliquo regentium aut capellanorum inveniatur ad descretionem magistri principalis multa pecuniaria puniatur que multa ubi coaluerit in nonnullam pecuniam\* summulam convertatur in unum ad refocillandos conversantium animos vel in alios pios usus ad descretionem magistri principalis pro mantenentia loci convertatur.

\* Sic.

\* Sic.

\* Sic.

Item luce clarius compertum est in ipso collegio inolevisse dissuetudinem lingue latine in non modicum contemptum statutorum loci quibus districte inhibetur ne quis collegialiter conversantium utatur lingua vernacula preter coquam et eius parvulum. Mandant igitur prefati venerabiles domini vesitatores ne quis de cetero in hoc collegio Leonardino collegialiter conversantium utatur idiomate vulgari sed studeant singuli honeste et latine loqui potissimum in tabula. Si qui vero

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<sup>1</sup> For this usage cf. Richardinus, *Exegesis*, f. 94, "si aliter canitur in Regula".

studentium secus fecerint per magistrum loci principalem seu per proprium ipsius regentem virgis ut supra coerceatur. Si autem aliqui ex regentibus capellanis aut aliunde collegialiter viventibus id fecerint per magistrum principalem multa pecuniaria \* refrenentur ut superius dictum est.

\* Sic.

Item quoniam dictis dominis visitoribus constat ad biennium preteritum defuisse in ipso collegio completum numerum nomine tam regentium quam studentium nec scitur quid utilitatis aut commodi inde accreverit \* ad rempublicam ipsius collegii, mandant igitur deinceps teneri consuetum numerum studentium non indoctorum et ignorantium sed doctorum et sufficienter qualifecatorum iuxta tenorem statutorum loci exactamque deligentiam adhibere veri \* per magistrum principalem pro uno regente bone fame docto et qualificato ad regendum et docendum unam classem in artibus et philosophia ut moris est. Ut autem sciri possit quid commodi reipublice loci accreverit \* ex huiusmodi numeri regentium et studentium diminutione capiat magister principalis discriptum compitum a provisore loci pro biennio preterito ex sua obedientia. Et de executione huius articuli respondebit magister principalis reverendo domino commendatario ipsius collegii patrono et ipsius visitoribus idque proxima visitatione.

\* "Attulerit" above in a different hand.

\* Sc. adhiberi vere.

\* "Attulerit" again as above.

Item attento quod diversis visitationibus preteritis preceptum fuit ut corregatur \* campanile ne pluva \* inde descendens \* noceret ecclesie et ut murus inferior orti ipsius orti fermis et pertinentibus usque ad sufficientem altitudinem extenderetur que cum hactenus executioni<sup>1</sup> minime demandantur et plus obest quam prodest statuta condere et eadem executioni non determinandum, \* precipimus et mandamus magistro loci principali et magistro fabrici \* eiusdem quatenus quam citissime commode fieri poterit predictum campanile reformare faciant et murum inferiorem ex annis \* orti fermis et proventibus pertinentibus \* et preteritis ad condignam altitudinem extendi procurent ut autem hec commodius et celerius fieri possunt \* capiatur ratio de fermis orti predictis serventurque in loco tuto

\* Determinanda?

\* Sc. fabrice.

\* "Certis" above by the other hand.

\* Presentibus?

\* Sic.

<sup>1</sup> This word is almost unrecognisable, but the phrase "executioni demandare" is a common one.

ad effectum predictum nec in alios nullatenus disponantur usus ; quod si secus factum fuerit respondebit idem magister principalis ex suo \* obedientia domino commendatario et visitatoribus predictis.

\* Sic.

\* Sc. fermarii-  
que.

\* Sic.

\* A frequent  
blunder.

\* Sc. quam.

\* Principalis ?

\* Sc. officiarum.

\* Namari.

Item ex eo quod tenentes fermariumque \* loci non inducunt fermas victualiaque sua in tempore oportuno ymmo eadem importare recusant ad minus saltem non inducant \* integro anno elapso in non modicum loci detrimentum et incommodum, proinde mandant et precipiunt dictos \* visitatores ipsius collegii provisorii quatenus quod \* primum poterit accepto precepto ad-verso<sup>1</sup> ballivi monasterii Sanctiandree principali \* per officiarum \* namarei \* et distringi faciat omnes et singulos dicti collegii colonos et fermarios pro universis summis pecuniarum et victualium de quibuscumque terminis preteritis debitis et nondum solutis quodque faciat celeriter et absque mora prout in propriam visitationem \* respondere voluerit et super executionem sui officii coram prefato domino commendatario et visitatoribus antedictis.

\* Proxima  
visitatione ?

Item inventum est feodum coci fuisse nimis arctum et strictum hoc potissimum tempore caritatis annone et propterea mandant qui supra ipsius coci feodum extendi ad summam quinque mercarum quamdiu duraverit talis annone caritas qualis nunc est et quamdiu studentibus necnon (?) regentibus et capellanis consuetum (?) prestiterit servitium.

\* Sc. exonerare.

\* " Forsyth " inserted by the other hand.

\* MS. onerosum.

\* MS. obedientia/rū :

separating line by reviser.

Item volentes omnibus quibus possimus mediis ipsum collegium exponere \* expensis superfluis et ut equum est necessariis onerare statuimus richardum forsyth \* velud onerosum \* et inutilem a loco removendum et studentem unum qualificatum loco ipsius surrogandum per magistrum loci principalem prout ex obedientia rationem \* dare voluerit coram sepe dictis commendatario et visitatoribus.

\* Serviendum.

\* Altargii.

Item inspiciatur fundatio alteragii quondam Johannis archiepiscopi bald<sup>2</sup> et visa eadem moneatur dominus Andreas Archibald ad servandum \* altari nostre domine infra dictum collegium situato juxta tenorem foundationis eiusdem altararii.\*

<sup>1</sup> I.e. "against them".

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction.



Item quia ex veteri proverbio intelligimus generosum equum facilius duci quam trahi et multos adolescentes potius lenibus quam asperis corrigi disciplinis per presentes remittimus ac per magistrum loci principalem remitti volumus alexandro sedelans omnes defectus et innormitates preteritas modo deinceps ut decet so(brie?) iuste et pie inter sodales suos ambulet: hortandum tamen duximus dictum alexandrum in visceribus charitatis ne post hac pessimi (?) sit regiminis omnino otiosus blasphem(ator?) multum jurans incorrigibilis loci perturbator sibiipsi et aliis cietinis (?): non sit amp(lius?) nequam (?) perversus irregularis intractabilis plus satis loquax: non cudat libellos famosos: non utatur lingua vitiosa venenata et serpentina nec vocetur unica fenix<sup>1</sup> que volat per orbem terre et si antehac meruit posthac tamen nunquam mereatur nec severam correctionem nec de loco expulsionem: nimirum (?) exitus<sup>2</sup> jam et omnino liberatus ab omni vetusta malitia ab omni vetusta maledicentia ab omni vetusto otio amodo ambulet immaculatus in via domini et sicut collegium hoc ingressus intigre fame adolescens sic etiam ab eodem discedat in bona gratia et apud homines et apud deum per Jesum christum Amen.

Item pro eo quod concepimus ex fide dignorum hominum relatione magistrum Johannem scheild per magistrum loci principalem monitum et requisitum ad regendam unam classem in dicto collegio, ad exercendum offitium regentis et ad capiendum suam hebdomadariam hebdomadatim cum reliquis loci regentibus et capellanis pro ut tenetur ex unione sui altarii in honorem domine magnanime<sup>3</sup> per quondam dominum Walteri \* Moneypenni priorem lacis \* de levin fundati ad per- \* Sic.

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<sup>1</sup> With reference apparently to his isolation: in the *Catholicon Anglicum* (Early English Text Society) "fenix" is described as "avis unica".

<sup>2</sup> This is evidently intended to mean "having got out of"; but perhaps the original had "exitus".

<sup>3</sup> Scheill served at the Altar of St. John the Evangelist and Mary Magdalene: "magnanime" is perhaps due to a misreading of the original.

petuum offitium unius regentis in dicto collegio, verumtamen idem magister Johannes hujus modi monitionibus et requisitionibus hactenus ut asseritur animo \* obediens contumaciter a dicto regendi offitio se omnino absentat in non modicam jacturam ipsius collegii et studentium in eodem: nos vero ex huius modi altaragi \* seu capellane \* unione ad offitium regentis in dicto collegio intelligentis \* diuturnam illam absentationem proximam post requisitionem precedentem merere deprivationem, mitius tamen agentes cum prefato magistro Johanne consulimus magistro loci principali hujusmodi deprivationem ab ipso alteragio seu regendi offitio differre usque ad reditum domini commendatorii prioratus sanctiandree et patroni principalis prefati alteragii ex partibus transmarinis, dummodo interim idem magister Johannes in prefato collegio hebdomatim capere velit tabulam in choro cum reliquis collegii regentibus et capellanis et ad idem faciendum statuimus eundem magistrum Johannem iterato requirendum per magistrum collegii principalem.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The Principal, John Law, made this requisition on the recommendation of the Visitors and caused a notarial instrument (College Documents) to be drawn out to that effect on the 26th November, 1551. This fixes the year of the Visitation.

TABLE OF COLLEGE HOURS ON COMMON DAYS.<sup>1</sup>

- 5 A.M. College awakened and gates opened in summer.
- 5.30 A.M. College awakened in winter.
- 6 A.M. High Mass. Gates opened in winter. [First Mass (without singing) on feast days.]
- 7 A.M. General lecture by Principal or a Regent.  
Regents or Chaplains having Altarages do service in summer.
- 8 A.M. Each student has four ounces of bread.  
Regents or Chaplains having Altarages do service in winter.
- 9 A.M. Lecture (?). [High Mass on feast days.]
- 10 A.M. Lecture (?).
- 11 A.M. Regula. On Fridays a general "capitulum" for discipline.
- 11.30 A.M. Dinner.  
A lecture after dinner three days a week (not on Saturday).
- 1 P.M.-3 P.M. Students go "ad campos" (once a week). On Saturday disputations at 2 P.M.
- 3 P.M. Vespers.
- 4 P.M. Lecture (?).
- 5 P.M. Regula.
- 5.30 P.M. Supper. Daily account heard by Principal (according to Visitation of 1544 it is after Salve).  
Repetitions after Supper.
- 7 P.M. Salve (with commemoration of St. Andrew and St. Leonard). The bell rings for silence after Salve.
- 8 P.M. The Principal or a Regent visits studies. Gates closed in winter.
- 9 P.M. Gates closed in summer.
- 10 P.M. [Outer gate of Church closed on feast days: Visitation of 1544.]

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<sup>1</sup> This table is compiled from the scattered information in the documents: no precise hours are stated for ordinary lectures and therefore the hours here given are only conjectural.





## APPENDIX.

### I.

The St. Leonard whose life is found in the *Acta Sanctorum*, October, vol. vii., 45, is distinguished by the Bollandist as S. Leonardus Vendoperensis or Corbiniacensis. This Leonard is said to have settled in the sixth century at Vendopera (Vendœuvre), a few miles from Alençon. When the King of the Franks charged him with drawing away men from military service to the monastic life, he triumphantly vindicated the claims of the kingdom of God. Once, as he was praying, a serpent coiled round his limbs but fell dead without injuring the holy man. Hence representations of this saint are marked by the presence of the serpent, while St. Leonard Lemovicensis is characterised by the symbols of captivity. The cult of St. Leonard of Vendopera became celebrated at Corbigny, some distance north-east of Nevers, whither his remains are said to have been removed in the ninth century, and he acquired the title Corbiniacensis. But St. Leonard Lemovicensis became much more famous, so that even at Alençon he superseded the local patron. It is clear that there was a gradual tendency to confuse the two saints. Unfortunately the Bollandists have not yet reached the 6th of November and the discussion of St. Leonard Lemovicensis.

### II.

Congregacione Facultatis tenta apud Sanctum Leonardum, Anno <sup>jm</sup> nona die mensis Augusti, fuit conclusum quod substrahenda <sup>ccccmo</sup> obediencia a Petro de Luna quondam nuncupato Benedicto, <sup>xviijo.</sup> et quilibet Magister Facultatis paucis exceptis substraxit ab eo obedienciam et obedit Martino. Dedit eciam proponentem

ad hoc proponendum in facie Concilii coram Gubernatore et tribus statibus regni ex parte Facultatis Arcium, ad inducendum dominum Gubernatorem et totum concilium ad solempniter celebrandam substracionem a dicto Petro de Luna, et ad declarandum obedienciam ecclesie Scoticane pro domino nostro papa Martino Quinto. Item quod solempnitas substracionis prorogaretur usque ad Generale Concilium ob reverenciam domini Gubernatoris et tocius regni. Et in casu quo Gubernator non velit facere substracionem, etc., sed velit perseverare in obediencia Petro de Luna, et mittere sibi nuncios ut quidam dicunt, tunc Facultas solempnizabit substracionem, etc. Item quod mittendus esset aliquis certus et notabilis aurifabro, eciam expensis Facultatis si oporteat, ad inducendum ipsum ut veniat cum virga et perficiat eam in ista civitate, et si non velit quod ipse mittat virgam cum predicto viro, prestita sibi caucione pro opere suo.

### III.

#### KIRKNESS.

These lands were feued by St. Leonards College to Sir John Bruce of Kinross, who held the same, with the Prior's Manse of St. Serf, for a yearly payment of £60 Scots for the Barony of Kirkness and £4 Scots for said Prior's Manse. The Subjects were Sub-feued by Sir John Bruce to Douglas of Kirkness.

By Disposition dated 25th February 1767, the Principal and Masters of the United College of St. Salvator and St. Leonard, who were then superiors of the subjects, in terms of Act of Parliament passed in 1747, sold and dispoened to Mrs. Ann Jean Douglas, Spouse of George Clephane of Carslogie, "the Superiority of the lands and Barony of Kirkness with the Priors Manse of Saint Servan within the Town of Kirkness" for the sum of £225 Sterling, under reservation to the said Principal and Masters and their successors in office of the yearly payment of £60 Scots, in place of the like sum being the feuduty formerly payable to them for said Barony of Kirkness, and the other annual payment of £4 Scots, in place



of the like sum being the feuduty formerly payable to them for the Prior's Manse.

It was part of the agreement to sell said superiority that over and above said reservation a permanent security by infestment for an irredeemable annuity or yearly payment equal to the foresaid two former feuduties should be granted to the said Principal and Masters and their successors in office by the proprietors of the lands, Barony and others, contained in the said disposition. Mrs. Isabel Douglas, then the proprietor of said lands and Barony of Kirkness, being incapable of granting any security for the said yearly payments, Margaret Douglas and Helen Douglas, both lawful daughters of the deceased Sir Robert Douglas of Kirkness and the said George Clephane, by a formal obligation, dated 25th and 27th February, 1767, bound themselves, conjunctly and severally and their heirs, executors and successors, to procure a permanent security by infestment upon the land and others mentioned in the said disposition from the proprietors thereof for payment to the said Principal and Masters and their successors in office of the said two annuities or yearly payments and to deliver that security to the said Principal and Masters and their successors in office, and in the meantime they bound and obliged themselves conjunctly and severally and their heirs, executors and successors whatsoever, to make payment to the said Principal and Masters and their successors in office or to their factor for the time being of the said two annuities or yearly payments.

The teinds of the lands of Kinglassie and the Vicarage teinds of Ryelaw, &c., have all been appropriated for augmentations of stipend to the Minister of the Parish of Portmoak.

#### IV.

Addit tertium collegium Ioannes Hepburnus, adhuc superstes, celebratissimae abbatiae divi Andreae prior ac moderator, jam frequens variis in disciplinis profitentibus et auditoribus. Is Joannes, ubi abbatiam viris religiosis, musica (qua semper ibi excellentes et clari fuere) omnique genere disciplinae pollentibus, incredibili cultu, et templo, et aedibus,

multisque novis structuris ornaverat, ut rei literariae consuleret, collegium (Sancti Leonardi vocant) instituit, sumptu ad magistros et scolasticos ex comparatis praediis tributo. Splendidae quaedam aedes ibi consummatae, aliae aedificari coeptae. . . .  
—Boethius, *Bishops of Aberdeen* (New Spalding Club), pp. 86, 87.

## V.

The monuments still lying in the Church of St. Leonard are reproduced and described in Lyon's *Ancient Monuments of St. Andrews*, but not very accurately. The inscription on that of Robert Wilkie (No. 4 in Lyon) should be read as follows, according to the intention of the composer: "Memoriae Sacrum clarissimi viri domini Roberti Vilichii Academie Rectoris qui huic Gymnasio annos XXI summa cum laude praefuit: aream ab occidente aedibus clausit ab oriente auxit: testamento 4200 mercas pauperibus alendis legavit: obiit anno aetatis 63 anno domini 1611 mensis Junii 26—Ditavi excolui ornavi auxique Lyceum doctrina fama sedibus ac opibus: testis doctrinae est Academia, Scotia famae, stant sedes, opibus nutrio sex inopes". It will be observed that in Lyon's plate the words are not SCOTIA FAMAE but SCOTIAE ANAE, and that he offers the marvellous rendering "the edifices stand at St. Andrews of Scotland". The carver had the inscription before him in capital letters: he got the word SCOTIA right and introduced a point after it: he then cut EANA, having failed to understand the original.

The slab (No. 8 in Lyon) which lies at the east end between two others, one of which is Wynram's, may be regarded almost certainly as commemorating Alexander Young, the first Principal of whom we have record. He is referred to in the Visitation of 1550 as now dead. How Lyon read the name "Emanuel" is a mystery which the wasting of the stone puts beyond solution.

The third slab (No. 9 in Lyon) may with some confidence be taken for the monument to Master Thomas Fyffe who ministered so long in spiritual things (*cf.* Stat. cap. v., and

Part ii. Introduction). He survived Young, but died probably before 1550, when John Fyffe had succeeded to the office (see Visitation). Lyon's reading of the inscription is certainly wrong and his translation is impossible: the phrase "ex inopum numero primus sacramenta ministrans" alludes to the fact that Thomas Fyffe was among the first students of the College.

Another stone (No. 12 in Lyon) deserves mention. John Archibald, who seems to have acted as baillie of the monastery (*College Documents*), died probably about the close of 1534. He gave some endowment for his brother who was a chaplain in the Church and who was alive in 1550 (see Visitation). He had a great regard for the memory of Hepburn, endowed the office which Fyffe held, and was on terms of friendship with Gavin Logie. The stone seemingly bears that he and his spouse were "collegii amantes".

## VI.

Inventarium rerum communium pertinentium ad cubi-  
cula primarii regentium et capellanorum et stu-  
dentium de fundacione die decimo Septembris  
Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quadra-  
gesimo quarto.

In camera que est prima adversus orientem proximior  
templo in parte australi fuerunt hec bona communia pertinentia  
ad locum Collegii Sancti leonardi.

In ye fyrst twa standan beddis ye foir sydis of aik and ye  
north sydis and ye fettis of fyr.

Item ane fether beid and ane quhit plaid of four ellis And  
ane cuveryng wardour with ymagis.

Item ane uther aild beid of hardyn fillit with stray with ane  
cuveryng of grein.

Item ane cod.

Item ane drawer of bukram of five breidis part grein part  
reid to yaillow.

Item ane flanderis conter of ye medilyne bynd.

Item ane litil bowrde for ye stude.

Item ane fyrme of fyr and ane litill letteron of aik on ye  
syde of ye beid with ane ymagis of sane jerane.



Item ane stuyll of Eis with ane vther cheir of litill pris.

Item ane chymnay voyand.

Item ane chanlar voyand.

Item in secunda camera australi que est media quam nunc inhabitat curatus yaire was ane conter of aik with ane fowrine of fyr and ane leich aix.

Item in tercia camera que est prima versus occidentem yair was ane standan beid of fyr with ane fowrine of ye Samen.

Item in prima camera boriali versus occidentem quam nunc inhabitat magister dauid Guild ane flanderis conter with ane beid of fyr.

Item in secunda camera boriali quam nunc inhabitat dauid Arburthnet que est media yaire was ane conter of aik with twa beiddis vith ane pres betwix ye beddis with ane                      and yir beddis and pres ar fixit.

Item in tercia camera boriali quam nunc inhabitat magister Johannes Schell yair was ane standan beid of aik ane turnand burd of vith ane Almari in it.

Item ane pres of fyr fixit in ye vaill ane fyrme of fyr to seit one.

Item ane beid behynd ye dur fixit for ane servand.

Item in cubiculo provisoris que est supra portam orientalem yair wes ane pres and ane almari in it Ane beid of fyr ane flanderis conter of ye small bynd ane lang sadill of fyr with ane schort forme vith ane aix.

In a note included in the appendix to Irving's *Memoirs of Buchanan*, Dr. Lee gives the following account :—

“In the year 1599, the furniture of the college is as follows. Impr. In the hall four fixed boards. The hale beds almaist fixt. In every chamber ane board and ane furme pertainand thereto, w<sup>t</sup> glassen windows, and the maist part of all the chambers ciellered abone, and the floors beneath laid with buridis.

## "COMPT OF VESSELS.

" 2 Silver pieces, ane maizer w<sup>t</sup> common cups and stoups.

" 3 doz. silver spoons, ane silver saltpat, a water basin, an iron chimney fixid in the hall.

" In the kitchen, an iron chimney, w<sup>t</sup> sic vessels as is necessar therein, with fixed boards and almeries."

The earliest inventory of silverwork belonging to St. Leonards College is dated 20th April, 1697, and bears the following heading: "Inventor of Silverwork Blonige to St. Leonard's Colledg delyvered by Mr George hamilton let principall of the said Colledg To Mr Thomas Talizor Mr Jo Craigie Mr Jo Loudan and Colin Vilant professor of philosophie in the said Colledg". This inventory is signed "George Hamilton, Jo Craigie, Col. Vilant," and enumerates fifty separate articles, thirty-six of which are spoons. The remaining fourteen articles are the following:—

Impr An larg Cup gifted by an widow for the use of the Communion table dated the year 1681.

Item. An Large Silver maser broken broken from the foot and the brim but both foot and brim delyvered.

item. thrie Lessr Silver Cups the Last marked wt M.J.W. an other marked wt ffranciscus steuart dominus hallis dated 1576 the 3 gifted by Mr James Kerr Regent.

item. An Silver Cup gifted by David M'Gill of Cranstoun 1611.

item. An broken Silver maser gifted by L. J. T. wt this moto on the syed non munus sed grati animi tessera.

item. An broken Silver Coup gifted by Lord Thirleston.

item. An old Silver goblit.

item. An old Silver Salt.

item. An cup gilted in a case supposed to be gifted by the lett Duke Lauderdale.

item. An gilted silver salt the feet broken offt marked wt M. P. B.

item. An silver maser in the said John Methven pantrie-man in his hands.

item. An Large Timbr quaich wt Balligarnies Armes in Silver.

The next inventory is dated July 15, 1698, "the which day were put into a Chist in the Library" the following articles (in addition to thirty-eight spoons):—

It. Ane Silver Mazer D. P. B.

It. Ane Large Cupe Gifted by ane Widdow for the use of ye Communion Table Ann. 1681.

It. Ane Large Silver Mazer broken.

It. Three lesser Silver Cups marked M. J. W.

It. A Silver Cup gifted by David Mackgill of Cranston 1611.

It. A broken Silver Mazer Gifted L. J. T.

It. Ane broken Silver Cup gifted by Lo. Thirlston.

It. Ane old Silver Goblet.

It. Ane old Silver Salt.

It. Ane Cup Gilded in a case supposed to be Give by D. L.

It. Ane Gilded Silver Salt the foot brokin.

## VII.

Boethius, in his *History of the Bishops of Aberdeen*, speaks of Annand in words of the strongest praise. Referring to St. Leonards he says:—

Huic collegio in re literaria Joannes Annandiae (cujus haud multo ante meminimus) exordium dedit, vir acri semper ingenio, doctrina plurimum valens, cujus virtus ad posteros veniet, ut debitam tum laudem consequatur.

There is among the MSS. of the University a very interesting Absolution in a case of heresy raised against Master David Guild, Regent in St. Leonards, to which Annand's name, among others, is appended. This document, which bears the date 31st December, 1541, is too long to quote in full; but in view of the important information contained in it a great part is printed here with an abstract of what remains.

It is related that Master David Guild, "professor of the liberal arts, Regent of St. Leonard's College, Bachelor in



Divinity," presented a petition to John Mair, Dean of the Faculty of Theology—"non sine animi anxietate"—to the effect that at the annual disputations known as "disceptationes quodlibeticæ" held at the feast of St. Thomas before Christmas and in the schools of the Paedagogium, in presence of the theologians, the Faculty of Arts and the students of the University and before Martin Balfour, "actu umquodlibeticorum tunc responsionis tempore presidens et defensor," he answered the proposition "deus genuit alium deum" in the sense "quod deus pater genuit aliam personam in divinis (nempe filium) que persona filii est deus". This he did "non sua curiositate," but at the instance and mandate of the Dean of the Arts Faculty, of his own Principal, Alexander Young, and of others his superiors. He had subsequently made it clear in the Theological schools that he had no intention of departing from the orthodox faith of the Church, "prout determinando protestatus est". Some persons, "ipsius determinantis emuli non ad hominis pietatem et mentem nec ad catholicum dicendi modum attendentes sed ut apparet ac presumitur ex mera malevolentia," spread damaging reports about Master David "quasi inter respondendum minus recte de unitate essentie et trinitate personarum in divinis sensisset". Desiring to "vindicate a good man's innocence," and put a stop to malevolent accusation, Mair summoned through the Bedellus the following members of Faculty, who are specially named :—

Thomas Barclay, rector of Navay and Rector of the University.

Martin Balfour, "in utroque jure bac., in sacris literis doc.," vicar of Monymaill and rector of Deneno, Official principal.

John Wynrahame, "predicator doctor theologus," Subprior and vicar of Dow.

Alexander Young, "in sacris literis lic.," Canon Regular and Principal of St. Leonards.

John Annand, "multis jam annis fidelissimus divini verbi predicator," Canon Regular.

John Duncensoun, "in sacris literis lic.," Canon Regular.

Thomas Cunyngham, "in sacris literis lic.," Canon Regular.  
Richard Hylyerd, "fidelis divinatorum misteriorum interpres,  
insignis theologus doctor Anglus".

John Thellidaff, "predicator et theologus, gardianus con-  
ventus fratrum minorum apud S.A."

John Patersoun, "predicator et theologus, vicarius ejusdem  
conventus".

Robert Andersoun, "in sacris literis bac."

Alexander Dik, "in sacris literis bac."

The document then proceeds: "Omnibus congregatis ac juxta suos gradus qualitates et dignitates sedentibus et silentio vacantibus prenominate magister David cum illis (quibus decuit) reverentia et honore in medio lare stans detecto capite contra dictam sui nominis obfuscationem cum omni humilitate sic est exorsus: 'Dignissimi et prestantissimi domini mei, quod dolenter refero et referendo doleo, audio meam probitatem (?) ob id quod in quodlibetis velut sub pedago<sup>1</sup> discens inter determinandum obiectis argumentis responderim (licet absque re et sine causa) multipliciter esse detractam. Tum inter respondendum dilui hanc obiectam propositionem deus genuit alium deum negando alietatem in divina essentia sive in deo sed dixi respondendo quod deus ipse genuit aliam personam in divinis (nempe filium) que persona filii est deus itaque denotetur alietas persone et nullo modo deitatis aut divine essentie subiungendo distinctionem inter signa alietatis dicens quod signa alietatis in masculino aut feminino que communiter designant alietatem persone ut alia sit persona patris alia filii alia spiritus sancti et rursus hec eadem signa in neutro que designant alietatem essentie sed una est essentia (ut plane dixi) in tribus personis divinitatis sicut scriptum est hi tres unum sunt.' Hec ubi disseruit prefatus magister David jussus est suum repetere locum. Interea ut preclari hominis sapientis fame consulere-  
mus necnon ut de cetero detrectantium ora clauderemus convocata facultate theologica nos Joannes Maior (qui sacre facultatis theologice decanatus officioungebamur) prenominate omnes

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<sup>1</sup> Sic.

et singulos dominos ac magistros in circuitu assidentes singillatim interrogavimus an predictus magister David jam tunc in nostra presentia hec eadem verba eandemque propositionem et sententiam repetierat que et quam in quodlibeticis disputationibus protulerat atque predixerat : cui nostre interrogationi una omnium voce simul conventionaliter congregatorum ac singillatim et successive responsum est ipsum magistrum David antedictum eadem tunc verba propositionemque ac sententiam ejusdem repetiisse que prius in quodlibeticis disputationibus reddiderat atque responderat et quod utrobique docte pie et catholice singula respondendo dissolverat. Iccirco et ob id nos Joannes Maior philosophus atque theologus prefectus collegii Sancti Salvatoris ac decanus theologice facultatis antedictus suadentibus premissis omnibus notum facimus et in domino attestamur ac de unanimi consensu assensu et deliberatione omnium predictorum insignium virorum decernimus et declaramus magistrum David antedictum neque tunc in nostra presentia neque prius in disceptationibus quodlibeticis neque determinando neque respondendo a vero fidei tramite sive theologorum dictis aliquatenus recessisse aut in aliquo deviasse sed omnia docte scite bene vere et catholice dixisse respondisse et determinasse. Proinde nos volentes hominis boni bonum nomen illesum servare de consensu et assensu sacre facultatis theologice magistrum David prefatum integerrimi nominis ac inviolate fame fuisse et esse manifestamus. Quocirca vos omnes et singulos Christifideles ad quorum notitias he nostre litere pervenerint pietatis zelo exhortamur in domino quatenus sepefatum magistrum David tanquam virum bonorum nominis et fame pium catholicum sanctum atque fidelem divini nominis cultorem habeatis et recipiatis."

These "literae testimoniales" are signed by Mair, Barclay, Balfour, Wynram, Young, Annand, Hylyerd, Duncanson, Cunnyngham, Anderson, sealed by Mair and subscribed by two notaries.



## VIII.

EXTRACTS FROM MINUTES OF MEETINGS OF THE  
UNITED COLLEGE.

July 11, 1759. . . . That as appointed on the 23rd of May an Estimate was made of the Roof of St. Leonards Church, by which it will take £125. 5s. 10d. Ster. to make it sufficient all which the Society taking under consideration, it was proposed that since the Old College Church is a part of the Fabrick they must keep in Repair, and that in it the Leonardine Congregation would be very well accomodated, that it should be fitted up for that purpose rather than lay out so much money upon a part of St. Leonards College which is not now possess'd. But it was proposed on the other hand, That, as it will take a great deal of money to fit up the old College Church for the Congregation at a time when the College cannot conveniently spare it, Tradesmen be appointed to consider again the Roof St. Leonards Church.

July 12, 1759. The Tradesmen being call'd in Reported that they had carefully view'd and considered St. Leonards Church and that they could not undertake to make it wind and water tight for less than £40 Sterling, and tho' that money should be laid out upon it just now, they could not promise to do it in such a manner but that the Roof would need to be wholly renewed in a very few years. Upon which the masters not thinking it proper to lay out so much money in that manner, agreed that it was most adviseable to fit up the old College Church for the Leonardine Congregation, and to lay the matter before the Presbytery desiring their consent and authority for so doing.

The Masters agreed with Will<sup>m</sup> Nesh to repair the Roof the old College Church, to harle and whiten the inside of the walls and roof for the sum of £90 Ster. as his obligatory Letter of this date more fully bears. . . .

## IX.

EXTRACT FROM MINUTES OF MEETING OF THE  
UNITED COLLEGE.

Oct. 21, 1765. . . . John Hog having made a demand for ringing the Leonardine Bell, now in the Old College Steeple, along with the other bell, on Sabbath days, it was agreed to allow him five Shillings Sterling yearly for that service  $\frac{1}{2}$  he furnishing Grease to both Bells.

## X.

EXTRACT FROM THE COLLEGE MINUTES (JANUARY  
1740) REGARDING ALLOWANCE OF FOOD AND  
OTHER MATTERS.

That each Border at ye High table shall have for Breakfast one third of a loaf and one mutchkin of milk to be carried to his chamber by the Table servers, amongst whom this service shall be divided according to the Principal's order (his own server being exempted therefrom) and each Boarder shall have of bread and ale at Dinner and Supper as formerly.

That each Bursar shall have for Breakfast one third of a scone and a mutchkin of milk or ale, for which he shall go to the pantry himself and carry it to his own chamber, and eat it there. That he shall have at Dinner one half of a scone and one mutchkin of ale: and at Supper one half of a loaf and one mutchkin and a half of milk or ale and that their server shall have one scone and one chepin of ale per day.

That each Portioner shall have for Breakfast one fourth of a Loaf and one mutchkin of milk or ale, for which he shall go to the Pantry himself and carry it to his own chamber and eat it there. That he shall have at Dinner one fourth of a loaf and a mutchkin of ale; and at Supper one half of a loaf and a mutchkin of milk or ale, and that their server shall have one scone and three half mutchkins of ale per day.

That the milk which is brought to ye College be applyed

first to the Boarders (if they require it) then to ye Bursars and lastly to ye Portioners.

That each Server shall have one third of a scone and one half mutchkin of ale for Breakfast, one half of a scone and a mutchkin of ale at Dinner, and one half of a scone and a mutchkin of ale at Supper. And the Principal's server being also Precentor shall have one-third of a scone and one mutchkin of ale for Breakfast, one half of a scone and one mutchkin of ale at Dinner and one half of a scone and one mutchkin of ale for Supper.

That ye Table servers shall cover and uncover the Table at Dinner and at Supper, except the Principal's who is exempted from this service.

That while ye first Cook has ye emoluments of ye Pantry and Cellar he shall have only one scone and a half and one pint of ale per day; and if it shall be found needful hereafter to separate these offices then each servant in those several offices shall have Diet as formerly, or as ye Principal and Regents shall then determine.

That the Provisor, Second Cook, and Lotrix shall have their Diet as formerly.

That ye Foricarius in lieu of ye Bread and ale formerly allowed on Sundays and Thursdays and annual collection shall have six shillings Scots per week during the session of the College, and half a boll of meal during the vacation; for which he shall come every morning during the session of the College with a wheel-barrow (to be provided by himself) and carry off ye ashes from ye area, and once a week clean the lattrins. And if he fail on any one day of the week (Sunday excepted) to carry off ye ashes, he shall forfeit one shilling Scots. And if he fail to clean the Lattrins any one week he shall forfeit two shillings scots, and he shall be obliged throughout the year to carry out of ye area all ye rubbish occasioned by repairing the roofs or other work within walls and shall take care of ye Sewers, under penalty of losing his half boll of meal.

That ye Diet shall be ye same on fast days as on any other day.



That on Sundays the Bursars and Portioners shall have only one third of a loaf to Supper, seeing they have flesh then ; and on the same account the servers shall have only one third of a scone.

That the Porter shall exact no fees from the students at their first coming to the Colledge, nor at no time after during the session of ye Colledge, except his yearly collection, which is hereby declared to be twelve shillings scots from each Seconder and six shillings scots from each Turner (he not being a foundation Bursar), but from the foundation Bursar eighteen shillings Scots because he relieves them of the original burden of tending the gate per vices.\*

\* Cf. Stat.,  
cap. 4

That the Porter pay his own servant or under Porter without any cess from the students.

That no Hansel be asked or expected by the Porter or his servant or by any College servant from any student whatsoever.

That each Seconder shall pay quarterly to ye Porter for dressing his chamber twelve shillings scots and each Turner six shillings Scots, and no more.

That the first Cook in lieu of ye Collection used to be levied from the masters and students eating at the several Colledge tables, shall have from the Colledge seventeen merks scots which with the fee of ten merks scots formerly allowed him makes in all £18 scots ; reserving to him his meal for the vacant quarter, and his other ancient perquisites, excepting as far as they are modified in ye above regulations, while this office is enjoyed by one who has other offices.

That the second Cook in lieu of the Collection used to be levied from ye Masters and Students eating at ye several Colledge Tables shall have from ye Colledge eight merks and a half of Scots money which with the fee of five merks formerly allowed him makes in all nine pounds scots reserving to him his antient perquisites and meal for vacant quarter, excepting so far as his perquisites are modified in the above regulations.

That no Collection hereafter be levied for cleaning the Latrins seeing that it is provided for already : nor no collection

for repairing the Butts, but in place thereof the Colledge shall give three pounds scots yearly.

That the foundation and Wilkie bursars' entry money be remitted at and after the session commencing on October the tenth one thousand seven hundred and forty.

That these regulations shall begin to be put in execution with respect to the Diet on the Twentieth instant, with respect to the 1st and 2nd Cooks additional Salaries, from the beginning of this session of Colledge and with respect to the Foricarius from the time that a new one shall be established in that office, which the Principal and Regents are resolved shall be as soon as a person fit for it can be found.

The Porter having given in some time ago to the Principal the Inventory of the furniture, etc., belonging to the Colledge, he and ye masters visited each chamber, compared the Furniture there with the Inventory given in and amended it wherein they found it deficient; and they appoint this Inventory to be entered in ye book kept for recording the Bursars' names, and there to be subscribed by the Principal and Regents.

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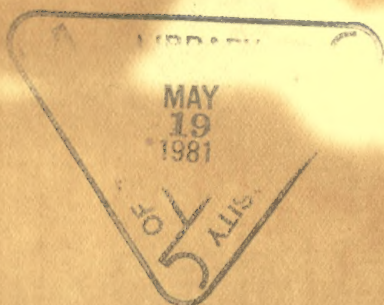








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